

SOCIOLOGY

— AND —

SOCIAL RESEARCH

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

<u>The Social Function of Personality</u>	
RICHARD THURNWALD	203
<u>Emasculated Sociologies</u>	
CHARLES A. ELLWOOD	219
<u>Observability of Social Institutions</u>	
F. STUART CHAPIN	230
<u>The New Poor</u>	
PAULINE V. YOUNG	234
<u>The Problem of Becoming Americanized</u>	
JOSEPH S. ROUCEK	243
<u>Note on Rural Social Work</u>	
GRACE E. CHAFFEE	251
<u>Japanese and Their Language Schools</u>	
MARIAN SVENSRUD	259
<u>A Social Distance Scale</u>	
EMORY S. BOGARDUS	265
<u>Book Notes</u>	272
<u>International Notes</u>	289
<u>Social Research Notes</u>	293
<u>Social Drama Notes</u>	297
<u>News Notes</u>	298

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THE SOCIAL FUNCTION OF PERSONALITY*

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WHAT HAS PERSONALITY to do with society? If unsophisticated people remark: "society consists of individuals," certain sociologists, like Durkheim, Simmel, and their followers will be found saying that the individual is nothing in a community, that the conception of God, of the Sacred, Mana, Totem, are the corresponding characteristics of a society, that the categories of force, space, time, efficacy, kind, are the reflections of a society's characteristics, that collective representations exist outside of the individual and are endowed with a power of coercion upon an individual, regardless of his desires. There exists in their mind a reality of social mind, independent from, and exterior to, individuals. Simmel in his endeavour to study the "forms" of all kind of aggregations considers himself justified to skip over the individual or its particularity. He envisages only social differentiations, not taking into consideration the personality.

In interpreting history, two opposing views can be observed: the one attributing the deciding events to the actions of individuals, the other one to societal processes. In a similar way opposing ideals for the organization of

* Based on a lecture given at Harvard University, March, 1931.

society persist, the one stressing individualism, liberalism, hero worship; the other socialism, communism, mass worship. In construing primitive society the romantics apprehended an individual relying only upon his own work, the sociologists of the Durkheim type regarded the personality submerged by the social unit.

So much for the theories. How does reality look? Today in bolshevistic Russia personality is supposedly wiped out. But the contradictory fact remains that the Soviet State is dominated by a dictator, that Marx and Lenin are the saint and the hero. In the individualistic countries and under the liberal-capitalistic régime concerns and trusts, all kinds of associations and "gangs," play an important rôle. It seems, therefore, that theory is not in harmony with reality.

The sociologistic schools which today are still of great influence take a one-sided view. Durkheim and Simmel attributed the "growing dissimilarity among individuals" to the increase of the "division of labor." They held the opinion that dissimilarity was responsible for more solidarity. No explanation was given why heterogeneity of individuals should smoothen social intercourse. An opposite view was ventured by F. H. Giddings, asserting that "like-mindedness," similarity among individuals, furthers the conversion of gregariousness into a society. Whereas Durkheim and Simmel thought of the occupational side of life, Giddings' mind was directed upon similarities in ideas, beliefs, manners, and customs, by which the feeling of solidarity among individuals is increased. This is not necessarily identical with "division of labor." Besides, the story Durkheim and Simmel relate about the evolution of the division of labor is not based on satisfactory studies but on vague assumptions.¹

¹ Cf. the author's *Economics in Primitive Communities* (London: Oxford University Press, 1932).

Professor E. S. Bogardus in his series of articles on "Social Distance" (*Journal of Applied Sociology*, 1925-27) studied factors for creating sympathetic and antagonistic feeling and their change. For the mere classification of human relations must remain sterile. Society is nothing permanent, but ever in a process of change. Professor Bogardus' studies opened the avenue for further research in individual behaviour within society. The question remains, however, how the interindividual processes bear on the shaping, the configuration, and the transformation of society. There are scores of factors which alter the interrelation among men. We should single out those of a social-psychological nature and the responses more or less typical.

It might be advisable to begin with a few words on what is understood by personality. For the sake of the argument let us distinguish between a person's changing attitudes and the dominant behaviour induced from his actions and reactions during his whole lifetime. Personality cannot be drawn without a biographical background. It is definite only at the moment of decease. It represents a longitudinal cut through a man's psychological constitution. With this we may contrast "character," meaning a cross section at a certain moment of existence. Such cross sections, of course, are never identical, since they are exposed to changes both of the physical body and the environment. Any person is born endowed with a certain composition of faculties and possibilities. These are not the same for brothers, nor even necessarily for twins. Without going too far into the problem of heredity, let us be reminded of the fact that the gametes of the two parents are merged in a different way in each child, endowing them with different complexes of reactionary possibilities.

Any child is born with certain of these possibilities which we may call his "blank." Upon this the reactions

are made. Since the blank varies with each person the results of the reaction are always different. Furthermore the social environment also differs continually so there are two variables making for a personality varying infinitely with the individual. These blanks are not the same a whole life through, for a person's constitution changes at sexual maturity and later at senility. The reactions of a child are different from those of a man, or again from those of a senile person. These changes are due to biological conditions independent of environment.

Personality, however, has to deal not only with the biological factor, but with the interaction of the biological and the environmental factors which are laid down in the cross section of a person's psychological attainment at a certain time.

If a man comes into contact with an alien society a certain pattern is imposed on his character by that society. The reactions are different with each person and the pattern itself is interpreted in a different way. This accounts for the fact that a person even in his own society not always really represents the pattern asked for. He may conform more or less or only feign a conformity. There is still a third attitude, due to emotions, which is in no way overt or conscious, and is, so to speak, behind the scene. When dealing with the personality we have to take into account these three kinds of behaviour.

These observations may be interpreted not only for individuals but for clusters. All the larger associations of persons are not only composed of individuals, but also of many minor clusters of families, of friends, of comrades, et cetera. Moreover, the same man or the same woman belongs at once to several clusters: to a family, to a group of friends, to a vocation, to a religious body, to a political party, to a social class, to an economic stratum, and so on.

Each of these clusters is specialized, and in a state of constant flux within itself and with one another.

The relation of the individual to society may be considered almost as a basic element of the science of society. But it is incompatible with a dynamic point of view. Society must be conceived as a changing process. I am particularly happy to see this view becoming dominant in America. I believe it appeals to the activity of the American people.

The relations between the individual and society are subject to changes. What are the forces of change in a society? How does change come about? Is it always the same, or does it differ in many places and in various instances? And what are the reasons for the differences? On investigating certain changes one finds personalities to be the acting forces. The primary factor in all changes of society is biological, the succession of generations.

The relations between sexes and age groups change accordingly. This means that these most important biological factors can never be counted upon to be permanent in any aggregation. This phenomenon is most striking, of course, in the family, the existence of which is bound up in the life of its individual members. Other associations, such as a business corporation, a religious body, or a political party, may survive the gradual passing of some or even all of its members but are nevertheless essentially affected by such a transformation, even though it is gradual. Such changes in the interior composition involve not only the individual, but also the group. Of the component parts in a state or nation, i.e., families, political parties, business enterprises, associations with ideal purposes, trade unions, illegal fellowships of gangsters, and so on, each one has its particular scheme of transformation and rejuvenation of its constituent personnel.

The active processes may be considered first in reference to individuals. Aggregations of persons may take various forms, the structure of which reflects the activity and aim of its components.

Age and sex as biological factors in the formation of these groups are obvious, but not sufficiently taken into account. The family is the outstanding example of the result of these forces, and particularly of the union of heterogeneous persons with parallel interests. The complementary character of the bearers of the union should be observed.

Three main attitudes prevail among them: coöperation, competition, and divergency. Among persons of different sex and age there is generally not much competition but rather coöperation, based on a kind of complementary process in purpose and attainment. Persons of the same sex and age may either compete with each other, unite in some common aim, or turn aside upon entirely divergent paths. Often a striving in the same direction may be combined with competition, and complementary processes may end by running in parallel directions.

In the other forms of aggregation the similarity of persons seems to be decisive, in contrast with the complementary nature of the above example. As a matter of fact, however, this complementary nature only appears to be hidden, and is none the less active. It is particularly accentuated by the relation between leaders and followers, as we shall see later on.

First, let us glance hastily at the structure of a few aggregations.

I. The most ephemeral and transitory of these may be called "mass," an expression that is used in various ways, often very vaguely. We must distinguish between present masses, such as those of people in the street or on the scene

of an accident, and absent or dispersed masses, such as readers of a newspaper or listeners to a radio message.

Personality, however, must not be neglected in these masses. Leadership may arise from them in a number of ways, but the character of the leader is dependent on the type of situation. For instance, should an automobile accident occur, a certain bystander may offer his assistance or advice, and thus become the king-pin of the situation. If the gathering were political, the leader would probably be an orator, though perhaps only of the soap-box variety. Again, should one of the crowd on a bridge throw himself over, the hero of the occasion would be he who jumped in after him. Finally, there may be the onlooker who takes merely the passive rôle of criticism, who observes, or passes on, without making any impression on the moment. It is obvious from these instances that the situation has determined the kind of leader.

There are special attitudes associated with certain kinds of personality. Given a situation, the question is, what personality happens to be present, and who is best qualified for the solution of the problem offered? That person will gain prestige by his action, speech, or whatever else he has contributed to the particular situation. Thereafter he is likely to be referred to as a leader. From this it is obvious that the selection of a leader is dependent on three factors:

(1) Personal skill or special fitness for the solution of the problem in hand, (2) the passivity and readiness of the rest of the group to submit, or what we call in this case the "mass," (3) the particular situation itself. These leaders are neither elected nor nominated, but arise by an unconscious mechanism from among the men concerned. We may term this kind of leadership "automatic." It is clear that the character, ability, or personality of him who

is called the leader differs enormously with the difficulty he is asked to meet. Other qualities are exhibited by a man who takes leadership on the scene of an accident, than those shown by a political propagandist or the organizer of a factory.

Leaders are all more or less specially fitted for their particular tasks, but the prestige which is conferred on them by the mass permits them to exercise influence in other realms for which they are not adapted. This is the dilemma of leadership and the source of further complications, especially in the field of institutional leadership which will be treated later.

We can hardly speak of completely amorphous masses. Even people in the street are congregated by certain common aims, for instance, the going to and fro of business. Everywhere people meet, there is a kind of clustering due to certain states of mind and traits of character occasioned by parallel aims, but uniting persons of complementary quality. These quite involuntarily arouse sympathies or antipathies, so that certain groups aggregate, and others dissociate. This may be observed among people who meet at a summer resort, on a steamer, or in a railway compartment. They have never met before, and yet there will appear antipathies and sympathies. These have no basis in intellectual reasoning but arise quite instinctively from various individual personalities.

On these occasions it may be observed that certain ones are sifted out to exercise their influence on the others. By their fitness for the present exigency, the production of an impromptu play, the management of a tournament, their resourcefulness in an accident, or merely by the prestige accorded by position, they come to the fore while the others remain in the background.

The selection of such leaders is not so much the result of the assumption of superiority on their part, but is due

also to the readiness of the others, to comply with the actions or suggestions of the leader. He is the first to act and the most apt at suggestions, therefore he is treated as a model. The others are prone to follow.

It is a kind of laziness in the others, and a confession that they cannot solve the particular problem themselves. The compensation for his shouldering the responsibility for first actions and words is paid back in the according of prestige. The power and endurance of this prestige depends on the degree of the success. The success, in turn, is not only the outcome of personal merit, but also of the particular character of the events. It is obvious that the prestige may be conferred on a man who has only happened to be pushed into a favorable position. Prestige once acquired works almost automatically, and helps to maintain position. On consideration of the interaction between aggregational units, it will be noticed that the relation between the leaders of these units is most important.

"Absent masses" we have mentioned before as a particular type. Listeners to the radio, for example are an amorphous mass in spite of the fact that by the influence exercised in a speech, leadership may be manifested. The same is the case with newspaper readers, or the unorganized participants in a social or political movement.

Leadership and mass in whatever form they may appear complement each other, the mass craving for models who think and act for them. "Tumults" are a conflict between leaders as well as between masses.

II. Aggregations of men living within a geographical boundary, on an island, in a city, in a township, in a college, in a plant, are united by certain conditions of existence independent of the function they may exercise in their society. We may term this kind of aggregation an "agglomeration." Instead of human leadership local condi-

tions are in this case the determinants. Such agglomerations are relatively permanent, though fully impersonal and, in their limitations, as undefined as "masses."

III. An aggregation of very personal and emotional character may be contrasted with this, namely, what may be termed a "crystallization," around the person of a prominent leader, particularly in the realm of religion or politics. Around such an impressive personality gather various strata of adherents: the inner nucleus of "apostles," as we may term them; secondly, a narrower circle of initiates to the esoteric knowledge; and, third, a "mass" of followers of loose affiliation with the creed, fickle in mood and anxious for success. These crystallizations are seldom of great duration, since if the movement proves successful it is soon converted into an "organization." Whereas the nucleus is closely attached to the overshadowing personality of the leader, the number and affiliation of the peripheral masses are never expressly defined.

There are, also, crystallizations about ideas contained in a holy book, a sacred memory, a number of highly estimated facts of history and cultural equipment. These valuations, together with other conditions, are extended to build the corner stone of nationalism or political or religious movements. It will be noted that the "extended crystallizations" may assume other forms by becoming "organized" in a religious or political body.

IV. Besides these groupings around the person or idea of a leader, various other aggregations must be considered: such as companionships, comradeships, fellowships, clubs, coteries, regular gatherings of various kinds, et cetera. These aggregations consist of a limited number of persons, often young people united by common ideals, crafts, or sports. They may be quite loosely organized. Personal leadership is less conspicuous than the conformity to

ideals. Often these aggregations do not last long. The leader tends to be an example of efficiency rather than a commanding personality. The requirements for membership are well defined and sometimes the common ideas are kept more or less secret.

V. Organizations are aggregations with a particular life process. There is a great variety of organizations, depending on the particular purpose they serve. Common to all is the existence of a constitutional structure. The organization is a conscious and intended aggregation with a strictly limited kind of member who abides by the rules and laws. Its continuance is generally unqualified, and it is exposed, therefore, to a biological change in the composition of its constituents. It means that the individual organization need not become extinct like the individual family, if part of its members die or secede. It may accept new members and continue existence by the maintaining of its body of rules, the nucleus of its existence. A business company lives by its constitution as does a religious congregation, a state, or any other association.

This structure is never absolutely stable but subject to changes brought about by men and conditions. Here again enters the rôle of the individual and of the subordinate group within the organization. This process between individuals goes on in all kinds of aggregations.

It must be observed throughout this discussion that a man is associated with a number of aggregations at the same time. He may be a son or father or brother in a family, belong to a religious denomination, represent a certain nationality, be a citizen of a state, director of a factory, belong to this or that political party, in which he has a particular standing as a wet or a dry, he may be an alumnus of Harvard or Yale, belong to a certain social class, the "smart set," or the professional class, and so on.

Each man is divided by a number of social relations, of varying obligation and different degrees of preference: here he may be active, there passive, or acceptant of influence from others.

On analysis of the standing of several men of similar temperament it will soon come out that the social relations of each one are different, and that even the attitude towards these relations is not the same. Moreover these vary with the lapse of time. We say: his interest shifts from this point to that. A dry may become wet and vice versa. An employee may lose his job and perhaps become more interested in politics. The course of events his life takes, changes the accent of his attention and consequently his attitudes towards his fellow-men.

These attitudes are at the foundation of any human aggregation and they are of particular importance for the men influencing an organization.

There is a special peculiarity of organizations, responsible for the functioning of social machinery, namely, the framing of what is broadly called "leadership," and which, when it is institutionalized, assumes an artificial character opposed to what we have called "automatic" leadership. Any organization involves an aggregation of persons for the pursuance of certain aims: in primitive areas, the provision of food, self-defense, the invocation of ancestors, et cetera. In our society the same aims are more specialized and integrated, but they imply a deliberate and constant coöperation for similar purposes. This means the creation of "function," apart from its identification with persons. It is the creation of offices that is most important for the emergence from the primitive of our modern political and social organizations.

The body of any organization consists of a number of them, arranged in such a way that the interacting depart-

ments may unite into a whole. These functions or offices, once established, lead their own life. They are created for the exercise of "leadership," in the decision of special questions, and the setting up of model actions and thought. There is a certain ideal for the behaviour of a man who holds such an office, and according to this pattern the whole is arranged. The ideal for such a function, however, rarely coincides with the actual conduct of the officer. From that inconsistency arises a particular process in the organization.

First there is a sifting to confer such functions and offices. The idea is: the right man in the right place. But who the right man is, or which man is particularly fitted for this or that job, is often a matter of discussion and argument. In fact the constitution of any state or of any other aggregation aims to create "right places," and each system, democratic, plutocratic, aristocratic, dictatorial, or autocratic, believes it has the "right" device for sifting out the "right" men to put in the "right" place. The principles may differ, but they never entirely coincide with what I have described above as a kind of "automatic" selection. The latter is rather indefinite and dependent on the personality, whereas the sifting process of the institution is conditioned by the nature and the kind of function demanded of the man who performs it. The process is adapted to the aims of the organization and to its machinery, but not to the person.

Therefore a conflict is bound to arise between the person and the function. This inconsistency may be criticized and, in a democratic organization, an opposition may arise. Such an opposition, in the initial stage, takes the form of a "crystallization" about a person or a group of men, which later may even become organized. In autocratic or semiautocratic organizations other situations

arise which lead to phenomena that cannot be discussed here. Opposition in its general form is a determinant, for it contains the nucleus of vital changes within the organization. In a certain way the opposition generally aims to provide the organization with men better sifted than the previous. It means that they claim correspondence with "automatic" selection. Such a complete fitness, of course, can never be attained in an organization with divided functions.

There are differences in tension between institutional and automatic selection. This tension is responsible for the rhythm in the life of an organization.

There are obviously several more factors: the function apart from the person may be more or less limited. In more "archaic" societies, such as those of the ancient Orient, or of similar aggregations of the middle ages, they were circumscribed rather loosely and extensive freedom was accorded to the personality of the functionaire. Thus the interior processes of an organization may be blurred.

These factors, however, do not influence to an equal extent all the strata and aggregations of a society. Out of this difference another tension between the aggregations within an organization, such as a state, may develop. This may be allied to the tension previously mentioned in connection with institutional and automatic selection of leaders.

Often a classification is made of the imaginary age categories to which such an organization is ascribed at a certain time: for instance, the phase of youth, of growth, of senility. A certain equilibrium between the offices and the men filling them makes affairs go smoothly and suggests "youth." An extension particularly of area and population is referred to as growth, and an unadjusted condition as sickness or death. The symbols may be appropriate

but social processes are of entirely different dimensions and quality.

What I have called "unadjusted" conditions are of particular interest, for they indicate a state of conflict in the organization. We may say, this or that organization is "antiquated." We mean that the framing of the offices is in disproportion to the requirements of the changed condition and, consequently, to the quality of men called to leadership in the offices. The traditional mechanism works with valuations different from those of the men who have been shaped by new conditions.

The existence of an organization is doomed, if its constitution fails to succeed in harmonizing with the opinions of living men, and resorts to the principles of what has been called "automatic" selection. A constitution is something rigid. If it is changed, new modifications are made for the selection of leaders. This holds true as long as there is not another change in outward conditions, provoking further modifications.

We have tried very roughly to trace the formation and the function of aggregations to the forces developed by individuals, and to show how, by interaction, the life of a social unit may be maintained or destroyed.

The equilibrium between society and personality has often been misinterpreted. The opposing of "individualistic" and "collectivistic" societies is a superficial verbalism. It compares salient human attitudes in one or two realms of life and ignores the balance of the composite structure. Taking into account the social entities, such a contrast acquires quite a different feature. It shows that individualistic and collectivistic traits exist in every society, but are apportioned in a different way in each society. This does not, of course, negate the impression made upon us by one society or another as favoring this

or that general attitude. No society can exist without asserting a number of common interests and goals, and each society has to admit a number of safety valves for the sake of its individuals. "Collectivism," referring to economic conditions, may particularly impress the onlooker with individualistic background in economics, and vice versa. A loose civil organization in one field very often implies rigidity of custom in others. Each person is biased with positive or negative tendency by the institution of his own society.

EMASCULATED SOCIOLOGIES

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

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IT IS WELL KNOWN that Sociology started as an effort to make social reform or social reconstruction scientific. This was unquestionably the aim of Auguste Comte, who wrote during the period of reconstruction after the Napoleonic wars, and who was a disciple of Saint-Simon, usually called one of the founders of socialism, whose chief preoccupation was with social reconstruction. Comte perceived the necessity of scientific guidance in this work of social reconstruction, to counteract the one-sidedness and shallowness of many of the social reform movements of his day. A social science which was not concerned with social welfare would, in Comte's eyes, have been as much an intellectual and social monstrosity as the shallow philosophies and opinions upon which so many social reform movements were based. Comte's effort was to give social reconstruction a dependable scientific basis. He would not have understood those sociologists of the present who wish to free sociology of all "reformists" taint, unless by this is meant the taint of one-sided and ill-considered social reform.

Hardly any other attitude is discoverable among the sociologists of the nineteenth century. In his *Study of Sociology* Herbert Spencer argued not against social reform but against ill-considered and superficial reforms which lacked a basis of scientific fact. It must be remembered also that Spencer professed to base his ethics upon his sociology, and even though his sociological system was

one of laissez faire individualism, Spencer apparently did not doubt the possibility of social progress being guided by scientific knowledge. Nevertheless, his attitude toward social reconstruction or reform was so lukewarm and so purely individualistic that it did not satisfy that ardent nineteenth century American, Lester F. Ward. Ward declared that Spencer had made sociology a "dead science" because of his negative attitude toward social reconstruction, and that the purpose of his own *Dynamic Sociology* was to breathe the breath of life into the science. Ward, in other words, endeavored to make sociology a science of scientific social progress, even as Comte had done. Nevertheless, Ward, on one occasion, probably to refute the notion that sociology was mere opinion, said that a sociologist would hardly have an opinion about any current social question. This saying of Ward's, while it was in contradiction to all his life and work, was perhaps a starting point of the movement to divorce sociology from practical human interests.

However, long before, William Graham Sumner at Yale, exaggerating Spencer's laissez faire individualism, had been busy formulating a sociology which should be free from any reformist taint or from any attempt at the scientific direction of social progress. Indeed, Sumner questioned whether there was any reality in such a concept as social progress or whether there had been any progressive evolution in the folkways. Moreover, he refused to consider as scientific data the facts of present society but made sociology dependent upon the ethnographical method. This made Sumner's sociology look almost exclusively toward the past and any look into the future he seemed to regard as merely guess work. Of all the nineteenth century sociologists, with the possible exception of Durkheim, he divorced sociology most completely from prac-

tical human interests and from any concern with social reconstruction.

It was reserved for Émile Durkheim in France, however, to become the leader of the reaction against Comte's position, and go to the extreme of absolutely divorcing sociology from ethics, politics, and religion. Durkheim wished to make sociology a "pure" science and to free it from all value-judgments, from any connection with reform movements, or from social reconstruction. Sociology, according to Durkheim, must become an objective natural science, free from philosophical evaluations. However, Durkheim himself found difficulty in carrying out this program and had to admit that certain social phenomena were "pathological." One might well interpose at this point that Durkheim here introduced a whole series of value-judgments, though his defenders would doubtless reply that Durkheim's use of the term "pathological" was wholly within the limits of pure science.

So it has come about that the sociological movement has brought forth what I have called in the title of this article "emasculated sociologies," sociologies divorced from all interest in social betterment and, one might almost say, from all practical human interest. There are so many of these sociologies that it seems invidious to select any as examples. Objection, perhaps, may be taken to the adjective by which I have characterized them. Perhaps the adjective "separatist" would more adequately describe these sociologies. They wish to separate themselves from something which they think contaminative to sociology and the sociological movement. There can be no doubt that psychologically all of these sociologies represent what the Freudians would call "a defense reaction." They are all concerned to defend sociology from the charge of being "unscientific." They also aim to de-

fend sociology, without doubt in many cases, from the hostility of traditionalists and vested interests within the Church or the State. They seem very anxious to give these traditionalists and vested interests the impression that the sociological movement is quite harmless, and is a movement in pure science, whose only object is to understand a few abstract problems in which social savants have become interested. Probably, however, these fractional sociologies represent even more a defense reaction to the traditions and criticisms of the scientific world than to the traditions and criticisms of vested interests.

The three separatist sociologies which I have selected as examples are those that would limit sociology to the study of past social evolution, making use only of primitive or remote historical data; those that would make sociology simply a special social science alongside of other social sciences and limited to the study of the forms and processes of social interaction; and finally, those that would make sociology a natural science limited to the study of objective phenomena. I would not be misunderstood as condemning these attempts. They emasculate sociology only when they claim to represent the whole field of sociology and show intolerance of any other point of view. They emasculate sociology because they destroy any chance of sociology becoming the scientific guide of human society.

This ought to be quite evident in Sumnerian sociology, with its denial of any scientific validity to the concept of progress and with its method of ignoring present-day social phenomena and movements and fastening attention upon relatively remote and primitive social facts. Such a purely evolutionary sociology is not only divorced from present-day movements, but it runs the risk of serious misunderstanding of social processes. Studying human society from the standpoint of its natural evolution, it is apt

to throw too much emphasis upon impersonal, natural forces and to belittle, if not neglect, the intelligent efforts of man to improve social conditions. It is notorious that this is exactly what some Sumnerian sociology has done.

Quite as fractional and one-sided is the movement toward "pure" sociology by the leaders of the German sociological movement. More exactly this is a movement toward making sociology a special social science alongside of other social sciences. It was taught to me by Professor Georg Simmel in the University of Berlin when I was a student there in 1897-98. Like Sumner's sociology it is not new, but it has been revived since the War by several of the leaders of the sociological movement in Germany, especially by Professor Leopold von Wiese, Professor of Sociology in the University of Cologne; and now Professor Howard Becker of Smith College is attempting to popularize it in this country in his new work on *Systematic Sociology*. The thesis of this sociology is that in order to make sociology "pure," we must confine it to a specific subject-matter, and that subject matter its advocates find in "interhuman relations." There would be, perhaps, but little objection to this phrase if it were taken in a broad enough sense; but its advocates mean by it the form and processes of social interaction and of social organization. They seem to forget that there would be no interhuman relations if there were not group life and group behavior, at least none which would persist as fixed relations. They seem to think that the study of processes of interaction and of social structures are the only things which are left by other sciences to sociology. They forget that sciences are distinguished from one another not by their subject-matter but by their problems; and that any science which has a core of central problems to investigate needs no separate and distinct subject-matter. Passing by the problems of

social origins and development as of little importance or as dealt with by other sciences, they confine themselves to the structure and functioning of interhuman relations, which they affirm can be studied by observing the social life around us. This sociology is, therefore, almost the opposite of Sumner's. An eminent European sociologist writes me, "Professor von Weise's sociology is only a special fragment of sociology, not sociology itself."

To make this sociology still more "pure" Professor Becker is going to free it from all value-judgments. He revives the nineteenth century dogma that "science as such has no room for value-judgments." He goes on to say very dogmatically "if the sociologist wishes to be a scientist in fact as well as in name, he must avoid the mixture of value-judgments and science." Consistently he denies the existence of normative sciences, such as ethics, and presumably logic and hygiene. These may be bodies of knowledge, but according to Becker they have left the scientific point of view, which is merely that of understanding facts, conditions, and processes as they are. Nevertheless, Professor Becker like Durkheim finds that he has to introduce into his discussion later such terms as "dangerous," pathological," and the like. He, however, denies that he is reintroducing value-judgements with such terminology.

Now, it may be remarked in the first place that, so far as the writer knows, no sociologist has ever proposed to introduce ultimate value-judgments into sociology unless it be those of the Roman Catholic school. Even the value-judgments which the philosophical sociologist makes are relative, not ultimate; for the problem of ultimate values, of course, belongs to metaphysics. The form of value-judgments in any science, whether pure or applied, is the conditional form. The sociologist, for example, says

"If you want social unity or social harmony, then you must do so and so." Or, "If a social group with a given culture is to survive, then it must do so and so." These examples make it clear that Professor Becker despite his denial has introduced value-judgments in the sense that intelligent sociologists have always used them. Because such value-judgements are used it is unfair to impute to the sociologist who uses them a philosophy of ultimate values. Moreover, sociologists who believe that it is impossible rigidly to separate sociology and social ethics, clearly do not mean that social ethics is part of sociology. They only mean that sociology and the other social sciences form a basis for a social ethics made up of these relative value-judgments, just as biology and the other biological sciences form a basis for a science of individual and racial hygiene. If ethics does not find such a basis in the social sciences, then it must become merely a series of value-judgments based upon personal appreciations with no scientific basis whatsoever. It is just exactly the prevalence of this sort of ethics against which some of us are protesting. Let us note, finally, that there can be no application of scientific social knowledge, without a formulation of norms and standards guided by science; for between the application of knowledge and its perception must come the formulation of a standard or a value. That is the reason why we have a right to speak of this type of sociology as "emasculated."

Still another type of emasculated sociology is the kind that would make sociology a "natural" science limited to the study of objective social phenomena. Here the separation of sociology from practical human interests is implicit in a method rather than stated as a dogma. The higher values of human society are subjective, spiritual, or non-material. A sociology that is dogmatically object-

ivist or behaviorist is, therefore, unable to take all human social factors into account. No wonder that one of its advocates, with greater consistency than some of his colleagues, can say, "Sociologists as scientists are not concerned with what uses may be made of their findings. They are like chemists in this respect. Mechanisms of human behavior may be used to poison the public mind in war time, as poison gas and explosives may be used to destroy life and property"; and he continues, "Sociology as a science may derive valid generalizations regarding human behavior, but has no final word as to what is progress." With startling consistency he concludes, "Sociology is a natural science. As such it is non-utilitarian, non-normative, and no more 'important' than any other natural science." And this is the logical outcome of a rigidly objective method and of the attempt to assimilate sociology to the physical sciences! Here again we may remark to guard misunderstanding, that the concept of progress in sociology is a relative one. In this sense, as Dr. Hornell Hart has demonstrated, it has a legitimate place among scientific sociological concepts.

As my colleague, Professor Howard E. Jensen, has said recently:

That aspect of social philosophy which deals with the values of human association is social ethics. It builds upon the materials of all the social sciences; and is the logical continuation of them. If the sociologist wishes to stop short of ethical judgements, he is at liberty to do so, if he can. But can he, without loss to himself both as a sociologist and as a human being? As a human being, his scientific work cannot be without effect upon his value-judgments, and only at the price of the disintegration of his own personality can he avoid turning that disinterestedness which is the finest fruit of scientific training to the logical ordering of his own ethical worldview. And the more successful he is in this task, the greater his skill in formulating ethical values of his own, the less he is in danger

as a sociologist of permitting uncritical moral attitudes from creeping into his scientific work unawares.

And, one may add, the less his civilization will be in danger of stultifying itself before such problems as war, exploitation, poverty, and crime. If the sociologist cannot be permitted to form relative value-judgments in the name of science of such social conditions, scientific guidance of civilization becomes impossible.

Not only that, but all of the greater sociological classics of the past are relegated to limbo. So, too, are most of the works of the present that still preserve something of the old sociological tradition. Thus such a book as Todd's *Theories of Social Progress* becomes, according to these schools, not a work in sociology at all, but a semihistorical, semilogical discussion of imaginings of the human mind quite outside of science. The same would have to be said of most of Professor Sorokin's *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, and of many other reputed sociological treatises. It is, therefore, surely time to ask whither these purist sociologies are leading us, and whether we do not need a broader sociology if the science is to preserve its social usefulness.

It would seem as if sociology must return to a synthetic basis if it is to preserve sanity and usefulness and avoid scientific separatism or fractionalism. I mean by this only that sociology must be willing to take into account tested knowledge from any and every source which will throw light upon social problems. It must, furthermore, be willing to envisage all of human society and become to that extent a social philosophy. It must not leave out of account any element in human experience which would help in the understanding of human society or collective human behavior. There are some indications, despite the evidence to the contrary, that American sociologists are

moving in this direction. Some of these indications come from unexpected quarters. For example, Professor Kimball Young in his *Social Psychology* tells us:

There is no difference in point of view or in method between what is commonly called cultural anthropology and sociology. Any differences are in the objects of scientific attention rather than in fundamental points of view and method of approach to the data. These two sciences are concerned essentially with the cultural processes, the patterns, and institutional precipitates of group-life.

It is interesting to find an anthropologist also in a recent issue of *The American Anthropologist* saying substantially the same thing. "Social anthropology and sociology," he says, "are not two distinct sciences. They form together but a single discipline, or at the most two approaches to the same subject-matter—the cultural behavior of man. This identity has been all too frequently overlooked."

Here by implication the historical method is restored to its rightful place; for cultural anthropology quite generally holds to the historical view of culture. Both of the above writers, however, make the mistake of belittling the importance of psychology for the understanding of culture; for culture, as Marett and Goldenweiser insist, is a product of the human mind, and its production and development cannot be understood apart from the human mind. Both also neglect to say that a simple division of labor has grown up historically between cultural anthropology and sociology; namely, the former studies social origins and early development, the latter social evolution and present social structure and functioning. But as soon as human social behavior is seen to be largely cultural and human social organizations and functioning largely expressions of culture, then fractional and "separatist" sociologies become impossible; for all human social phenom-

ena are seen to be rooted in the soil of human culture and to be outgrowths of culture.

It would seem also that sociology to be sound and useful must return to a larger use, in scientific explanation of social conditions, of social tradition, social beliefs, social values and standards. The way has been opened to do this by *Gestalt* psychology and the developments in other sciences. The latest text in this psychology, Professors Wheeler and Perkins' *Principles of Mental Development*, says:

In all science radical changes are taking place. These changes have one feature in common of repudiating atomistic and mechanistic preconceptions. . . . Since man first attempted to give a rational account of natural phenomena mechanistic assumptions have prevailed. They are now being abandoned, independently, in practically every branch of human thought.

Will sociologists lag behind? At any rate, the way is opened up to the recognition again of the importance of spiritual, teleological factors in the human social process, and to the development of an all-sided science of collective human behavior, as conditioned by the human mind, on the one side, and by the culture of the group, on the other.

THE OBSERVABILITY OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

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WE KNOW INSTITUTIONS by symbolic reference and let our abstractions, e. g., the verbal symbols "Family," "Church," and "State," stand for the whole. Thus, the family is a concept generalized from numerous experiences; we have learned to assign a value to this concept (a value different from the concept church), and then we react to this value and not to any single sensory stimulus which is the family.¹ Or, expressing this idea differently, our overt behavior (whether muscular or verbal) is conditioned to verbal stimuli, and among these verbal stimuli there are some such, for example, as the verbal stimulus "Church" that exercise a more powerful effect than others.

The question the scientist asks is whether this generalization, for example, "Church," is based upon sense experience which other equally competent observers can have.² We may answer that the question has three roots: first, is the verbal stimulus "Church" identifiable by all hearers as a symbol of the same thing; second, were the original experiences from which the concept "Church" was generalized of a sensory character; and third, are these original experiences susceptible of repetition or independent verification by equally competent observers?

¹ Consult Floyd H. Allport for a systematic critique of the natural science approach to the study of social institutions, "The prediction of cultural change: A problem illustrated in studies, by F. Stuart Chapin and A. L. Kroeber," pp. 307-350 in *Methods in Social Science*, 1931, edited by Stuart A. Rice.

² Consult Read Bain in "The Concept of Complexity in Sociology," *Social Forces*, 8, I, December, 1929, and II, March, 1930, especially p. 372.

It is at once evident that the first point depends on linguistic habits. For instance, a person who did not know German would fail to recognize the word *kirche*, and the person who did not understand French would not react to the verbal stimulus *église*.

But let us assume that all of the three symbols are understood. Do the verbal symbols represent a generalization of sensory experience? Let us see. In all instances would not the symbols call to mind an image of an edifice of worship? If this were so, it is evident that this image originated in a visual impression or a sensory experience. Would the symbol arouse in consciousness the memory of sacred music? If so, it is evident that auditory sensations formed part of the experience. Would the symbols arouse memories of the haunting fragrance of Easter lilies? If so, it is evident that olfactory sensations were part of the experimental background. Finally, it is possible that the recollection of hard and uncomfortable wooden seats or perhaps by contrast the comfort of cushioned pews would recur. If so, tactile sensations had left their impression. But "Church" means more than these discrete experiences. It is a symbol full of emotional meaning. A quiet and dignified interior, hushed voices, organ music, the exaltation and inspiration of prayer or sermon, the singing, sentiments of awe, reverence, friendship, mutual helpfulness and aspiration are all blended into a configuration rich in meaning but by no means entirely emotional and devoid of satisfying sensory experiences. Furthermore, the experience is configurational, complex, and organized. All of these values are gathered up into the verbal symbol "Church," and when we react to this stimulus, we react to the values it represents and not merely to the sound stimulus of the spoken word "Church" or to the visual stimulus of the printed word "Church."

May we now approach the question whether the sensory experience which lies back of the concept "Church" is susceptible of repetition or verification by equally competent observers. Herein lies the real test, for the universal applicability of natural science generalizations is in their susceptibility to independent verification.

Although the verbal symbol "Church" stands for a value to which we react, this value itself was built up of countless sense impressions of an auditory, visual, tactile, and olfactory sort, woven into the organic fabric of our conscious memory and toned with feeling, emotions, and sentiment into an integrated whole. The religious complex varying as it does in the different human cultures is nevertheless recognizable and is generally regarded as one of the basic traits of universal culture pattern. To deny the observability of such a social institution expressed in terms of the records of sensory experience would seem to be either a confession of intellectual impotence or a flight from reality.

The difference between observation of phenomena in the two contrasted fields, social science and natural science, is not necessarily so much one of kind as of degree. Let us take the family institution as a second test case. The word symbol "Adams family" has a value to be sure to which we react, but the word symbols "Adams family" stand for an entity of interacting human beings. We react to the discrete individual members of this family group. We see them. We hear them. When we shake hands in greeting, we experience tactile sensations which may be agreeable or disagreeable. If one member has halitosis we experience olfactory sensations. Considering the Adams family as a group entity, however, rather than as discrete individuals, we may have sensory experiences of the family group also. Suppose we sit at their table for a dinner party. Here the situation consists of a definite

configuration made up of sensory experiences, richly interwoven into a unity. Separate parts of this configuration or "social gestalt" may be identified. There are the handsome oil portraits of earlier generations of the Adams family, dimly glowing from their frames up on the walls. Richly monogrammed colonial silver is on the table and glimmers against the background of the deep mahogany wainscoting of the dining hall. Properly dressed servants stand quietly or move noiselessly back and forth. The atmosphere is completed by the faint fragrance of colorful bouquets of freshly cut flowers. Against this setting of luxury, which consists of a complex of sensory perceptions of social status, we are keenly aware of the individual members of the Adams family, meticulously dressed for the occasion. The faces of these individuals range from the animation, bright eyes, and the shining hair of youth, to rugged old age with sober patient eyes and dull white hair. The voices vary in quality, lilt, and pitch as the conversation flows, eddies, and rises to crescendo, and breaks up into separate streams. The selection of words, the fleeting facial expressions, and the involuntary gestures are correctly interpreted as indicators of inner attitudes. The social configuration of such a dinner party is clearly and decisively distinguished from the social configuration of a bridge party. In both there are separate and distinguishable sensory elements, visual, auditory, olfactory, and perhaps tactile. Many of the sensory elements may be identical in the two situations. Nevertheless we can easily distinguish the situations as different. The separate sense perceptions are meaningful as parts of the whole situation. Yet is there not as much sensory reality to this type of sociological experience as there is to the observation of the stars?

THE NEW POOR

PAULINE V. YOUNG

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A SERIES OF STUDIES made recently by the writer for the California State Unemployment Commission¹ reveal, among other things, that an increasing number of people who have never before known prolonged unemployment or dependency are now applying to relief agencies for the mere necessities of life; they are idle not for personal reasons—sickness, lack of training, inefficiency, undesirable habits—but because they have been “let out” through no fault of their own. This new group of poor stands in sharp contrast to the old time “indigents” and so-called “paupers” who have so largely constituted, until recently, the clientele of public and private relief organizations. The new poor in their struggles for existence are developing *new behavior patterns* and *new social types*, a few of which will be discussed here.

Growth in Dependency

Prior to the depression and during 1929, the last pre-depression year, the number of different families aided and the expenditures for relief by the various welfare organizations throughout the State of California showed little fluctuation relative to the population growth. The tables below will help to visualize the phenomenal growth in destitution and the cost of public charity only by the Los Angeles County and City and County of San Francisco.

¹ See *Report and Recommendations of the California State Unemployment Commission*, (1933) Parts II and III, chaps. I to III.

TABLE I

NUMBER OF DIFFERENT FAMILIES AIDED AND AMOUNT OF RELIEF EXPENDED BY THE LOS ANGELES COUNTY WELFARE DEPARTMENT (EXCLUSIVE OF ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS BUT INCLUSIVE OF STATE AID) FOR FISCAL YEARS ENDED JUNE 30, 1929 AND 1932.²

	<i>No. families aided</i>	<i>Amount expended</i>	<i>Average amount per case</i>	<i>Per Cent of Increase (1932 over 1929)</i>	
				<i>Families aided</i>	<i>Amount expended</i>
1928-1929	18,650	\$1,690,452	\$90.64	—	—
1931-1932	63,415	5,315,325	83.82	240.0	214.4

TABLE II

NUMBER DIFFERENT FAMILIES AIDED AND AMOUNT EXPENDED BY THE ASSOCIATED CHARITIES OF SAN FRANCISCO (EXCLUSIVE OF ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS AND OF STATE AID) FOR CALENDER YEARS 1929 AND 1932.³

	<i>Total families aided</i>	<i>Total amount expended</i>	<i>Average amount per family</i>	<i>Per Cent of Increase (1932 over 1929)</i>	
				<i>Total families aided</i>	<i>Total amount expended</i>
1929	2,914	\$ 175,332	\$ 60.17	—	—
*1932	24,244	2,923,016	120.57	731.9	1,567.1

NUMBER OF FAMILIES AIDED AND AMOUNT EXPENDED BECAUSE OF UNEMPLOYMENT ONLY.

1929	934	\$ 48,289	\$ 51.70	—	—
*1932	20,089	2,515,715	125.22	2,050.8	5,109.8

*This estimate is based on ten months' actual figures: Total families aided—20,203; because of unemployment only—16,741. Total amount expended—\$2,435,846; because of unemployment only—\$2,096,429. The figures for 1932 are underestimated because no allowance was made for the much heavier demands for relief during November and December.

² The Los Angeles County Welfare Department is the largest family welfare agency in the County; it is a public agency and is subsidized from public tax funds; about 5 per cent of the above cases are unattached individuals.

³ The Associated Charities of San Francisco is a private family relief agency, but the Unemployment Relief Work is subsidized from public tax funds. Lack of space forbids analysis and comparisons of above tables. The reader's attention is called to Chaps. II and III of Part III of *Report and Recommendations of the California State Unemployment Commission, 1933*.

Space does not permit the citation of more figures. It is sufficient to say, however, that the data collected show similar trends throughout the State and point to the fact that the increase is due to the besiegement of the agencies by men and women who have never before knocked at the doors of charity. The expenditures for relief are high and show unprecedented increases, but they do not keep pace with the growing demands for relief. While the cost of living is now lower, the needs of families have augmented because of inability to secure help from children of working age, from relatives, from odd jobs, and so on. Occasional relief was replaced by more or less continuous relief, especially in the case of the Associated Charities of San Francisco.

Idle Breadwinners

At the beginning of the depression many citizens and leaders maintained that "those who are idle have something wrong with them, they are misfits and ne'er-dowells," but as their own friends and relatives joined the ranks of the idle, their opinions rapidly changed. The registration lists of the male breadwinners at employment departments connected with relief organizations indicate that the depression has hit in about equal proportions the laborers, the artisans, the "white-collar" groups, and the professionals. It is believed that many of the "white-collar" men do not disclose their identity because of fear of losing out altogether if only common labor jobs are available.

The proportion of foreign-born seeking aid is steadily decreasing with the increasing numbers of native American applicants. "The able-bodied, respectable citizens, former contributors to charity, home-builders and homeowners . . . the stable and industrious, wage earners,

merchants, and financiers, now swell the ranks of the idle," are oft repeated observations by social work executives. Stability, industry, vigor, resourcefulness seem to have lost their market and no longer stand the worker in good stead.

The average age of the new applicants for aid has not been calculated, but sample case records, picked at random from files of many agencies in the State, show an overwhelming number of young and middle-aged people on the charity lists.

Many of these people have exhausted their financial resources, have used up their savings, have cashed in insurance policies, mortgaged or sold whatever real and personal property they had possessed.⁴ The records of one large agency show that one-third of their recent applicants have an equity in a home, but only a negligible number are able to prevent foreclosure.

There are records of the number of families receiving relief, of men in the breadlines, of job-hunters in the crowded employment offices, but there is no estimate of the number of men and women who, because of pride, reticence, or scorn for "charity," daily retreat into the shadow of disaster and suffer silently, with health of body and mind impaired. There is no estimate of families who "double-up" their households or crowd into a single back room offered by a relative or friend. There are no figures showing the number of women providers, of child laborers who help to "support" the family. It is probably true that few persons are actually facing starvation in California, but it is a fact that many of the unemployed are slipping back from those standards of living which have taken generations of ardent reform and vigorous advertising campaigns to achieve.

⁴ The above situations are also found on a large scale throughout the nation, according to *Case Studies of Unemployment*, by Helen Hall.

The following excerpts from interviews with the unemployed are significant:

Yes, we have food, that is groceries from the charities, but we have no security for a roof over our heads Just food is poisoning our bodies, though our stomachs thrive Our electricity was shut off months ago; we spend the long winter nights by candle light or go to bed with the roosters. It is healthy enough to do so, if you take no black thoughts to bed with you There are ten of us, three families, living in a five-room bungalow, the rent of which has not been paid in four months We moved three times this year and are again facing eviction We have learned to "dead-beat" the landlord and smile at it I have been idle for eighteen months. How I spend my time? I don't spend it, I waste it Have you ever been idle when you could not afford to be? Let me tell you, it's nothing short of a plague.

Homes where peace and harmony have prevailed often break under the strain of worry, anxiety, and fatigue. Sympathies wane and courage is defeated. The parents' dejection and grave concern register themselves on the children. The disposition of every member seems to change. Parents become irritable, impatient with each other, quarrelsome, and even abusive. Only exceptional families weather the storm successfully. In many homes a spirit of coöperation and loyalty is manifested. They seem to become more solidly cemented when confronted with urgent problems. A sacrificial attitude for one another arises, but the prolonged tensions in the home eventually make their inroads upon family solidarity.

The Human Discard

An increasing number of middle-aged unemployed men have come to realize that they will never again be reinstated into the trade at which they were still at work before the depression. "They tell me I am too old. . . . I am out of practice out of skill, out of joint. . . .

They have reorganized I do not fit any more. My tools are out of date" are typical remarks by workers who still seem to be in the prime of life, but their repeated failures to secure steady work make them permanent charges upon relief organizations. The following excerpt from a statement by a middle-aged mechanic is typical of a large group of working people who regard themselves as "human discards":

I am a human being, but have been thrown on the rubbish pile like a bundle of rags. I was discarded from industry. Nobody wants me any more. "Don't need you," they shout at me and dismiss me with a wave of their hand. Are we to die like old dogs? . . . For twenty-three years I lived in this city, have grown up with it, have taken pride in its developments, and cheered its successes. I helped support charitable enterprises. I had only a remote idea of what "charity" meant Oh, it hurts to think that for the rest of my days I must do odd jobs, ring door bells to ask for a few hours' work, any kind of work What good is a trade? They take it out of your hands, and you have nothing to say, nothing to fall back on. I am licked

New Opportunity Seekers

The "jungle"—the retreat of the old-time hobo and tramp—receives but slight attention from the homeless men of today. They are generally wanderers in search of a job and "a new opportunity." The majority were forced out of a home only a few brief weeks or months prior. On the road they seek out missions, shelters, "flops," though most of them find the regulations stringent and devastating to their spirit. Scores even apply to local jails for lodging, when failing to secure other accommodations. They deem it essential to "wash up, shave and make themselves presentable" before applying for work. They carry over to a large extent the attitudes and sentiments which governed them at home.

The Central Registration Bureau for Homeless Men in San Francisco lists the following in "Who's Who in the Breadline": engineers, dentists, draftsmen, newspaper editors, miners, mixed along with laborers, skilled mechanics, sailors; and "here and there and almost lost in the crowd the old time 'hobo,' 'stiff' and 'bum' Who's Who in the Breadline this year is just you and your neighbor if you are a single man and lost your job or backed the wrong stock in '29. He thinks like you, works like you, wants the old job back, and most fortunately can laugh at your worries and his own plight."⁵

The Los Angeles Municipal Service Bureau for Homeless Men reports that of the 55,879 applicants in 1932, 95 per cent are citizens; 67 per cent are between twenty and forty-five years of age; 35 per cent have had high school or college training; 11 per cent are skilled workers, 91 per cent are sound and able-bodied.⁶

Women Vagrants

Police Departments of every large municipality report marked increases in the number of women arrested for vagrancy, in spite of the development of certain facilities for housing and feeding destitute women and girls. It is pointed out that the status of the woman changed from "needy" in the first year of the depression, to "destitute" in the second, and "vagrant" in the third. It is reported that many beg for their room rent; others "dead beat" their landlords; some sleep in missions, in depots, and a few daring ones in parked automobiles and parks.

The emergency "work-relief" program for women is limited in scope, and funds are uncertain and meager. The

⁵ Thompson, S. H., "Who's Who in the Breadline," *The Conference Bulletin* (California Conference of Social Work.) February, 1932, p. 27. (This Bureau had 15,861 registrations during the first 4½ months of 1932.)

⁶ See *Annual Report* of the Bureau, January, 1933. (Total number of applicants in 1931—39,386.)

unattached woman unable to find work and unwilling to accept "charity" chooses either to wander, to live by her wits, to get hopelessly in debt, or "get-by" in a variety of ways equally disorganizing.

Juvenile Transients

Varied stories are told by young boys of home conditions which induced wandering.⁷ The following are typical:

There was nothing else I could do. There is no income in the home, and I figured that there will be one mouth less to feed. . . . My father has had no work in months, and there is not a square meal in sight. It could not be worse on the road I am sick and tired listening to the complaints of the old folks and the squalling of the young ones I will live as I can and no questions asked.

School teachers report that many of the older pupils are soured on life, restless, and are questioning the purpose of an education: "What's school going to do for me when educated people walk the streets?" There are records of boys who took to the road the day their parents were evicted from their home. Many lead a precarious existence. "What's the use of going straight when the next fellow takes advantage of you just because he can?" philosophizes a thirteen-year-old lad.

The New Social Situation

A new class of poor has arisen. It is facing unprecedented conditions which, because of their extent and complexity, are difficult to define. Many become "despondent to the breaking point . . . they lose the sense of their personal worth . . . they face breach in family relationships." They ask for "jobs, for a chance to work and once again show their merit."

⁷ For a nation-wide study see A. W. McMillen, "Boys on the Loose," *Survey Graphic* (September, 1932), 389-93.

The proportion securing employment is negligible. If able-bodied, they must work for their grocery supplies on some city project. Manual labor is the pre-dominant type of work offered—road-building, street and park improvement, fire-break clearance. The "white-collar" groups are ill-fitted for this type of work, and both the work and the men suffer. It becomes clear that the unemployed is not only a worker without a job, but a human being without his customary social environment, a citizen without courage, a husband without the moral support of his wife, a father without control over his children. He is "a worker adrift."

The new social situation has not been met by the existing institutional set-up. There are no organizations which can adequately take care of the needs of the new poor, and they are not in a position to care for themselves. Uprooted from the social soil which previously sustained them, they lose their balance and find themselves ill prepared to make a satisfactory adjustment to the new environment. They attempt to carry over traditional attitudes and social values but rapidly find them unsuitable in the new situation. They undergo a period of doubt, bewilderment, fear, and eventually indifference.

THE PROBLEM OF BECOMING AMERICANIZED

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CONTRARY to the popular conception that the business of being a foreigner who has succeeded in obtaining a position in an American college and therefore a white-collar job, is a pleasant one, I would say from the outset that such an opinion is a great illusion. It is true of course that on the whole I have a much better economic position and I am much better off than I would be if I had followed my career in Europe. But from another viewpoint I am paying a very heavy price for the experience: and that is in terms of the spirit, something which is not quite understandable to the casual American observer.

In considerations of this kind it is necessary to observe that my case might be conditioned by a personal element, and especially by the fact that I was twenty years of age when I reached the shores of this country. And as is usually the case with many such a problem—upon its examination the situation becomes extremely complicated and cannot be isolated into various and clearly defined factors. No doubt the fact that my slight accent proclaims me and brands me as foreign-born, modifies any consideration of this kind from my viewpoint, as well as from that of the typical American. The greatest deficiency which I feel subject to is that in the present status of being Americanized I am living in a sort of spiritual vacuum, which provides no background, and which makes me feel that I am lacking that great feeling of belonging—something which every human being has to lean on for

support. Or, to be more concrete, the more I try to become Americanized to the satisfaction of the 100-per-cent Americans, the more often I am reminded intentionally and even maliciously by various persons and circumstances that I might be legally a citizen of this country, but in heredity I still remain and will always be considered a foreigner. This consideration is rather intangible; but it crops up very forcibly from time to time. To illustrate: A few days ago my wife and I offered a concert to our local club, the members of which have known us for the last three years. The following was the introduction of the chairman: "We are extremely glad to have with us two foreign artists from Czechoslovakia." The sentiment of such an introduction was fully appreciated by us, though the fact that we were brought to the plane of foreigner was somewhat resented by me. That, of course, immediately reminds one that he is nothing more than an outsider. We are, of course, well acquainted with that famous expression: "If you don't like it over here, why don't you go back?" But that somewhat inconsiderate remark used so frequently does not hold water if analyzed from the viewpoint of actual practice. I have revisited my native country from time to time, and even considered remaining there to pursue my career. But not many days passed by in Prague when I became keenly aware of the reactions of the good Czechoslovaks who felt that I did not belong to their group either. The fact is I do not understand some of their psychological processes and much of their behavior—nor do they mine. For I have become Americanized to the extent of being somewhat unable to understand the viewpoint of my former compatriots. In addition, it is quite plainly indicated that I am not wanted any more; and the more so because there are many young men with splendid educations in the country who are out of positions

because the positions are simply lacking. Why, therefore, import another half-baked Czechoslovak back to Prague and have him usurp somebody else's position?

It is, therefore, possible for me to understand quite readily why the foreign born person eventually drifts and shifts into the folds and settlements of his own countrymen. After all, he is among his own kind, but even then there is difficulty in my specific case. Much to my amazement I have not been able to find much close sympathy and understanding there. Maybe the ideals of democracy of our Czechoslovak-Americans have strengthened their conception of equality, and very often they dislike anyone who has any professional degree or standing. Perhaps my sense of a higher standard has something to do with it, and perhaps differences in notions of ways to enjoy oneself. Naturally my interests differ from theirs in almost every respect.

But to add to the problem I feel that I am even suspected somewhat by my own neighbors. There seems to be a preconceived picture in the typical American mind that every foreigner is a common laborer and that he cannot enjoy any higher interests of life. Or to be even more frank, I would say that these American folks are rather disappointed. Some of them cannot understand at all that I do not conform to their preconceived notions. I know very well that I do irritate lots of them who do not like my aggressiveness and the ways of a go-getter. I have been discriminated against and passed by so many times that I have had to display a certain aggressiveness to a degree which is perhaps quite irritating to some well-intentioned American. In addition I am reminded very often that I am holding a position which takes away a position from an American. Some time ago a very prominent internationalist and one of the best known figures

in the American educational world told me with a very kind smile, but with deep conviction: "I don't see why you fellows from abroad don't go back instead of taking somebody else's job away from him in this country."

This problem of getting a position is a very serious one in every case, I believe. As a student in American colleges I found it quite easy to obtain several scholarships and fellowships, and could not complain of any discrimination in this respect, with the exception, of course, of being ignored by fraternities or in social life. But the situation changes immediately when it comes to looking for a position. There are several matters at the outset which are a handicap to any application of mine. A foreign name, some accent, perhaps different appearance, and all that, produce a suspicious state of mind in the person who intends to hire me.

As I found it most interesting to study international relations, I always have felt that I was especially qualified to continue that work in American colleges as an instructor. But most of my hundreds of letters sent out as applications after I had received my degree are either answered with the typical formula or ignored. I am keeping as a souvenir a letter from the dean of one of the finest universities in the East, who wrote me at length that he would never hire a person of foreign birth to instruct in international relations in his university. He emphasized that his university must follow in the footsteps of George Washington. He got somewhat angry when I reminded him that the endowment for that school was partly raised by foreigners and by some persons living abroad. I am saving his answer, and both of these will be to me a classic example of how the memory of George Washington and the progress of international relations are served. May he read these words and remember that George Washington

said: "As the structure of government gives force to public opinion, it is essential the public opinion should be enlightened."

Now, of course, it is much easier to hold a position in an institution once I have received an appointment. There are minor difficulties arising among the faculty members just as any family will find time for its misunderstanding. Often my colleagues who don't like me or who decide not to like me, get the better of me when they get together and pass judgment that these foreigners are "unreasonable." One of them finds satisfaction in imitating my accent. Of course I know I must tread softly and step carefully in order not to make my foreign qualities stand out. Inevitably that results in a withdrawal within one's self, the tendency to isolate one's self and assume an air of indifference.

As far as my students are concerned, I find that it is very easy to go on the road to mutual understanding, once a basis for understanding is established. It is quite usual, of course, that one or two students do drop my course at the outset because they are determined that they would never like me, or, that in fact, I might be dangerous to their convictions. But after that the sailing is rather smooth and I find them more amiable, tolerant, and willing to understand than most of their adult superiors.

I have been able to present the American side many times to groups of foreigners. In fact, I spent three years instructing in an Americanization class in New York City, where my task was to provide the background for the foreign-born persons aspiring to become American citizens. We were provided with a set of textbooks from the central office and instructed very carefully what to teach, how to teach it, and the spirit in which to teach it. The major words of our vocabulary were the "spirit of equality, op-

portunity, liberty," and so on. To make us inspired, once a month we were ordered by the central office to gather our classes and deliver them to a large hall, where the so-called "receptions" were held for our pupils. The receptions were resented most heartily by the audience who disliked losing sleep, most of the meetings lasting until midnight. The poor listeners hardly knew what it was all about. The programs consisted of numerous lengthy and flowery speeches delivered by some prominent citizens, usually judges and lawyers invited by the director to inspire the audience. These speeches conformed to type, followed each other in monotonous succession, and were altogether incomprehensible to the audience. The audience somehow did not understand and could not understand why the receptions consisted in giving them orations when none of the speakers ever made an attempt to shake hands with them, or provide them with jobs. From their viewpoint there were too many ornaments to the legal technicalities making for citizenship. They lived their hard lives in the tenements of New York, and, exhausted by their daily tasks, had to spend hours seeking or holding positions and jobs. Too many orations and the insistence that these orations should be attended very punctually made them only more bitter and distrustful of the environment.

It might be well in this connection to make a few remarks about the problem of equality and opportunity. There is, no doubt, more equality and opportunity in this country than in Europe. But if there is that equality and opportunity, it certainly does not exist for foreigners in the same degree as it does for Americans. Of course we are told about the famous examples such as Steinmetz, and others. But of course it is very often forgotten that even in Europe common people reach the highest peak of opportunities. Take, for example, the present kings of

Persia and Albania, who arose from the very humblest of circumstances, as well as President Masaryk, or even Napoleon. Whatever is the instance of comparison there is a very effective way whereby the sense of opportunity and equality is checked. Most of the applications, and even official documents which I have the occasion to fill out make it necessary to designate the place of birth. That immediately disqualifies me for many positions. For example, when I inquired about openings in the foreign service of this country, the reply usually, as in other cases, stated that, "In practice only American born persons are available for the appointment."

All this in summary might seem pessimistic, personal, and inconsiderate of the other side. *De facto*, many of these things might result from my personal reactions to my environment as well as the reactions of the environment toward me. No doubt the system of adjustment will always remain perplexing to me and rather painful. And I cannot refrain from saying that I find around me much helpfulness, sympathetic consideration, and friendliness, which for the most part counteract the lack of understanding, willingness to insult, and tactlessness, especially from the sense of superiority which is so evident among the people who know that they stand backed by their own group. As is usually the case, that insistence of being superior is mostly manifested by persons who have the least to be superior about. Again I find myself once in a while a little jumpy and touchy, which I must watch very carefully. Occasionally the spirit of my ambitions becomes clouded by a pervading pessimistic outlook. The task of surmounting the untold difficulties and this job of making a decent living in an all-exhausting country is not very pleasant and certainly not joyous. If some Americans think that this is a pleasant situation, I would reply that

they are under an illusion. But to be fair, there is much to be praised in my new environment. If contrasted with the conditions of my native country, I am convinced that the life on the whole presents more freedom and a more optimistic outlook on life. The state does not appear to me that all powerful master, demanding attention at every step; compulsory military service, police registrations, and intolerant nationalism and fighting patriotism are lacking. The people are somewhat kinder, their economic situation is much better, and hence the personal relations are kinder. There is more laughter over here because there is less misery. The price I am paying for this opportunity to participate in this life can be rather high, and yet be worth it, though the conditions are not so rosy as painted by the ardent patriots. I am even optimistic to the extent of believing that some day I shall be able to overcome the difficulties, and that the sense of comparative satisfaction and of "belonging" will be achieved.

A NOTE ON RURAL SOCIAL WORK

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IN A DISCUSSION of rural social work, at least three major classes of facts and their interrelationships should be kept in mind. First, there is the nature of rural life itself and its rapidly changing character; second, the new tools for analysis and description of differential social organization developed by modern sociology; and third, an understanding of social work as a historical product. In its beginnings, both in England and America, social work was an urban technique, originating as an attempt to meet the crises precipitated by the Industrial Revolution. It separated into two distinct movements, each representing a different social ideal and defended by a different philosophical doctrine. The Charity Organization movement, derived in part from the individualism and utilitarianism of Spencer and Jeremy Bentham, defended a capitalistic order and sought to systematize the spasmodic and sentimental relief-giving that symbolized the social distance between classes. The settlement movement, on the other hand, was inspired by the Christian Socialists, Maurice and Kingsley, and advocated some form of industrial democracy. Its aim was to restore a social order that was passing by bridging the gap between rich and poor with an immediate, concrete relationship of neighborliness and friendship. In the development of the Charity Organization point of view, the activity of the caseworker, a go-between, a person delegated to act as an interpreter between

classes, came into being, whereas the settlement worker endeavored to incorporate both rich and poor into one organized group with common purposes and ends. Obviously, the Charity Organization Society, with its definite, fixed procedure, working with relationships already established as formal, abstract, and categorical between classes, and dealing with concrete problems of poverty and crime, was the more logical technique to use in the urban situation. Settlement work represented a Utopian effort to stay the operation of social and economic forces and failed to take account of the facts of city life, industrial encroachment, population movements, and the progressive deterioration of the neighborhoods it was seeking to restore. Both the settlement and the Charity Organization Society attempted by different methods to deal with groups and individuals who had become separated from the universal competitive process of society and were a threat to a smoothly functioning social order.

Now a new departure, rural social work, is developing. The problem is whether we are to take over a philosophy and a technique developed to operate in a formal, abstract, and categorical social order into an organization of life that may or may not be similar. Social work functions in a configuration of relationships. These relationships differ from place to place and from group to group. Detailed studies have revealed that all city areas are not characteristically urban. In some immigrant neighborhoods, especially, the organization of life is essentially primary and intimate, with its standards of social control enforced by means of gossip and spontaneous gestures of approval and disapproval. Case studies of conflicts between individuals of the first and second generation of immigrants have pointed out the contrast between the controls operating in these areas and so-called American areas. Neither are all

rural areas characteristically rural. Galpin and Kolb¹ have shown the same natural areas or patches of dissimilar social organization in an otherwise homogeneous rural area. Urban areas, those in immediate proximity to a trade center, show an entirely different type of social organization as compared with other localities farther away. Furthermore, these outlying neighborhoods fall into many types depending upon the nature of the relationship or the focus of attention that binds them together, so that they may be described as institutional, business, ethnic, kinship, topographic, or village neighborhoods. Likewise, the New England village, genetically, is a true agricultural village, similar in organization to the Anglo-Saxon village and perhaps to the Russian mir, holding and working its land in strips and practicing a collective manner of life. The typical midwestern village is a group of services, detached from the surrounding separate farmsteads except for a hinterland relationship. These outlying neighborhoods may also be classified in a constantly shifting pattern of trade relationship. Grocery communities have a diameter shorter than good clothes communities, whereas church and school communities show a ratio proportional to the length of the legs of little children as compared with the time-distance of a Ford car. These differences in social organization become significant when the technique of rural social work is being considered. The individualistic approach appropriate to the disorganized urban situation would fail utterly if applied to a true neighborhood group. Here the method obviously would be the motivation and control of the whole group by the selection of native leadership and the discovery of the natural interests of the group, an undertaking which would fall into the technique of the neighborhood worker rather than the caseworker.

¹ Galpin, C. J., *Rural Life*, Ch. IV. Kolb, J. H., *Rural Primary Groups*, Research Bulletin 51, University of Wisconsin, 1922.

It is perhaps in the analysis and diagnosis of these differential situations that sociology may be of the greatest help to rural social work. LePlay's old formula, *Place-Work-Folk*, recently reintroduced by Patrick Geddes in England and the French regionalists, assumes new meaning when applied to contemporary community research. Geographic factors of location and access, technological factors, such as highways, railroads, improved means of communication making for regionalism, economic factors such as the basic industry of the area and the presence or absence of skilled labor, as well as cultural factors of habit and use and institutional organization, may be used as tools to discover the rural as well as the urban community. The comparative rôles played in the national economy by rural and metropolitan areas, the shift in industry from east to middle west, need to be understood in order to evaluate the tempo of rural life in terms of selective migration to the city. The suburban trend may be a compensatory phenomenon but it is serving to spread the urban pattern of life all over the country-side. Perhaps typical rural life is to be a constantly decreasing type of social organization. Shall case work as such follow other institutions out of the city? Will neighborhood and community work again tilt its lance against windmills that it can see but never lay low? Or will rural social work be an astute combination of the two approaches and the two philosophies, skillful in analyzing just the type of social organization it is attempting to treat and successful in using the proper technique? The ecological approach in sociology is uncovering basic and deterministic facts in social organization, and its findings should be reckoned with in any program for rural social work.

Cultural organization is built upon and adapts itself to an ecological base. Cultural anthropology points the way

to the description and explanation of local community institutions and patterns that would be of value to rural social work. Paul Radin's investigation of the culture of the Winnebago Indian and his biography of "Crashing Thunder," an individual member of the Winnebago tribe, serve as a model for the understanding of the interaction between the local social heritages and human nature. Just as there are local culture areas so there are local personality traits and patterns selected for approval and imitation. Mr. Burgess in an article on "The Neighborhood"² calls attention to such phenomena as "New England conscience," "Scottish thrift," "Southern hospitality," and the startling local character of dialect and speech characteristics. These differences are surface symptoms pointing to a differential type of social heritage. Again the rural family is a different institution from the urban family, which seems to have lost every function except the biological, although here, too, the patterns vary according to the locality and social tradition. The rural family still, to a large extent, functions as an economic and educational unit. Its organization is still patriarchal and conservative and tied up with the larger kinship group. Spatial separation from other family and community groups, a common, economic enterprise, and large land holdings to be divided among the children, all keep the farm family a closely integrated social group. Intergenerational conflicts are at a minimum and the standards and habits of the fathers are readily transmitted to the children. Farm Bureaus, coöperative elevators, insurance societies, joint use of occasional machinery in the country, all indicate a coöperative, mutualistic scheme of social organization. These objective aspects of rural social life carry with them

² Park and Burgess, *The City*, "Can Neighborhood Work have a Scientific Basis?" by E. W. Burgess, p. 146.

a subjective counterpart of personal life organization and behavior pattern. One cannot be understood apart from the other. Both are significant from the standpoint of rural social work.

Perhaps the approach to the rural community that is of most importance for social work is its political aspect or the way in which the community mobilizes for the accomplishment of common ends. In the last analysis, social work may be thought of as an experiment in social politics. It can succeed only as it adapts itself to the basic interests and vital forces of the community. Facts gained through ecological and cultural analysis amount to very little unless they can be regrouped and synthesized and understood in terms of collective action. Limitations are just as important as possibilities in human affairs. Here, as Mr. Burgess³ points out in the article mentioned before, the social worker could very well go to school to the ward politician. Another organization more or less makes very little difference in the over-organized urban area. In the city there are money and leadership and unoccupied time. Furthermore, there is a restlessness and a mobility present in the city which makes it particularly susceptible to suggestions in regard to new programs and new activities. Any survey, however biased and inadequate its collection of facts, finds a ready market. To establish social work in the rural community may be an entirely different undertaking. In the well-organized rural community, the support of local public opinion, democratic organization, and indigenous leadership, are essential to a sound social work program. Theoretically, the rural community is a highly self-conscious, self-motivating, independent community. The program that is instituted successfully in the disorganized, segregated, city community may be entirely

³ Park and Burgess, *op. cit.* p. 153.

unsuitable and improper for the rural undertaking. Careful analysis of success and failure of different projects may be helpful here. Such documents as contained in Steiner's *American Community in Action* suggest a method for evaluation. The combination that unlocked one situation may not succeed in another. It is important to see the factors in the problem in relationship to each other and in dynamic interplay.

Although the science of society which should be basic to the art of social work is still new and immature and its assumptions need to be criticised and enlarged through further research, it has developed something of a methodology and a technique since the beginnings of social work in the humanitarian era. Such research as that carried on by Clifford Shaw⁴ in the field of delinquency gives a basis for assuming that sociology has a positive contribution to make to the social work of the future. So far, most of this research has been done in the urban area. Analyses of social organization and personality that take into consideration the natural environment, the maintenance mores, the rôle of tradition and custom, the process of social change and disorganization, should be made available, likewise, to the rural social worker.

Social work, as well, since its early formulations, has become critical and receptive of findings in fields other than its own. It is seeking light on the problem of rural social work and trying to adapt its tools to the needs of rural life. It is the point of view of the paper that sociology has something to contribute to this endeavor. Sociology aims to describe and control social organization and behavior. Rural social organization is a constantly changing dynamic and differential problem. Rural social work

⁴ See Clifford Shaw, *The Jack-Roller, The Natural History of a Delinquent Career*; Shaw and Others, *Delinquency Areas*.

may be an entirely different undertaking from the forms of social work that prevail in the urban area. Besides having at his disposal the historical and institutional techniques familiar to all social workers, the rural worker, perhaps even more than the city worker, needs an additional frame of reference and approach to his problem than can be furnished to him by a thorough knowledge of the social reality with which he deals. Rural social work should be something more than a mediatory technique made necessary by the limitations and breakdown of the social order. Social work in the country should become an integral part of rural life and organization. To do this, it needs to reexamine its old habits and philosophies in the light of the later contributions of social science.

ATTITUDES OF THE JAPANESE TOWARDS THEIR LANGUAGE SCHOOLS

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AN INTERESTING PHASE of the educational system for the Japanese children in America is the language schools which a large majority of the boys and girls attend. These schools are not a substitute for the American public schools, but merely a supplementary measure. This is not only the position which they hold at the present, but also the original aim of the institution. The children themselves regard these language schools as distinctly supplementary, and in many cases would prefer not to attend, a point that has special significance, as Japanese children have an exceedingly deep desire to become proficient along educational lines. "The progress of the Japanese is due to their great eagerness to learn, which has overcome more obstacles than have been encountered by most of the other races, as obstacles of race prejudice, of segregation, and wide differences in language."¹

There is practically no illiteracy among the Japanese in America. Dr. Iyenaga, commenting on this situation, said that because of the complete system of Japanese compulsory education, the Japanese in America do not seem to be much behind the corresponding elements in the American population in average intelligence.² But they are held back from making use of many of the educational ad-

¹ Ichihashi, Y. *Japanese Immigration* (San Francisco: Marshall Publishing Co., 1915), p. 41.

² Iyenaga, T., and K. Sato, *The California Problem* (New York: Putnam, 1921), p. 170.

vantages in this country because of their language difficulties.

The younger children attend the language schools as a matter of course, just as they attend the American schools. Yet there is prevalent a feeling of dislike, when after a day of studying in the public schools they proceed to the language school for a couple of hours of further instruction. Among the older children there is a very definite trend away from these schools.

These facts are the result of a study of a typical Japanese agricultural community in southern California. Judging from comparison with other studies made of urban and rural communities the same sentiments are prevalent among Japanese people throughout California.

The purpose of establishing these schools was very worth while. It was to teach the children their own language, and to teach them the traditions and history of their ancestors. Such training and information is of undoubted value to the Japanese at present, as well as being indirectly of social value to Americans. From the social and economic standpoint a knowledge of the language is indispensable now, as a tie between the first generation and the second. Employment at the present time, even in most cases for the college graduates of the second generation, rests with the first generation. This situation will undoubtedly change within another generation as evidenced by the alacrity of Japanese boys and girls in learning the American language and customs. But the language schools at present are filling a need, and should be looked on with favor. They are serving the same purpose as once did the German and Scandinavian language schools, which have died out during the last few generations.

The strongest objection which has been raised in this country towards the language schools of the Japanese has

been that they foster anti-American ideas. This accusation is without basis. A thorough study has been made of all the textbooks to eradicate such possibilities. The Japanese Association of the Pacific Coast has been cooperative in its desire to eliminate or revise any material which would be considered incompatible with American traditions and customs. As early as 1913, the Japanese Educational Association announced that "The goal to be obtained in our educational system is to bring up the child, who shall live and die in America, in the spirit of the instruction received in the public schools of America."

Japanese children should have the opportunity to be specially versed in the history of the land of their forefathers, to a larger extent than many other nationalities. A main reason is the fact that racial prejudice against them exists so strongly. They learn to appreciate American ways by their daily contact with American institutions and people, and at the same time they should learn of the history and traditions of their own people. In this way no sense of inferiority is developed in regard to their nationality and they are able to combat racial prejudice which has sprung from sheer ignorance. Just as the language schools will gradually die out, so will the feeling against the Japanese people as an inferior race die out.

Thus will one great purpose of the language schools be fulfilled. Another purpose, as has been mentioned, is the necessity of perpetuating the language among the Japanese of the second generation. In most foreign groups there is a wide gulf between the first and second generations. On the one hand the children are becoming Americanized in the public schools, while on the other hand their parents are firmly holding on to their native mores and traditions. This naturally results in conflicts. The Japanese language school acts as an interceding force that

accomplishes beneficial measures conciliatory to both sides.³

Another reason of vital importance at the present time why the children should be brought up with a good knowledge of their native tongue is that this training will constitute an economic asset for the future. The older generation still controls Japanese business interests, and in order to procure employment from them, it is necessary to know their language.

In the community in which this study was made there are less than two hundred people, but there are two language schools. Each one meets for only six hours a week, in accordance with the state law governing foreign language schools. The two teachers are young Japanese men, who are well educated. One of these men has a master's degree from the University of Southern California, while the other one was educated in a college in Japan, and at present is attending an American university here. Both of them plan to do educational work in their native country.

The Japanese subjects taught are writing, dictation, reading, memorizing, translation from the Japanese to the English language and translation from English into the Japanese language. Every three months report cards are given out with marks on honesty, truth, morality, progress, composition, spelling, singing, speaking, and history. There is no number work included.

The system is under the Japanese School Organization of Southern California. Financially each school is independent, and supported by the parents of the children who attend. Each school is organized like a private school with the community paying for the furnishings, books, paper, and salary of the teachers. The school organization

³ K. Kawakami, *Real Japanese Question* (New York: Macmillan, 1921), p. 146.

in each locality has a meeting every two months and discusses all problems that arise. The parents pay five dollars a month for one child, eight dollars for two, ten dollars for three, and twelve dollars for four. It is also a custom of the Japanese to give donations of money on special occasions, for example, when there is a death in a family, when there is a child born, or when the parents return to Japan.

The method of teaching in these schools is in contrast to that employed in the public schools.⁴ The children study aloud, mumbling to themselves the words they are reading or writing. The discipline is not the same as is expected of the children in the public schools as the children walk around, talk to each other, and leave the room as they feel inclined.

However, it is not for the purpose of criticism that these conditions are pointed out. There seems to be as much "learning" accomplished as in our more formalized public school systems.

It is interesting to note that the lack of interest towards their language schools on the part of the children, which becomes stronger in the older youth, does not seem to be a cause of any great anxiety on the part of the parents. They, too, realize that although the schools fill a need now, that gradually there will be no other purpose in their existence except for sentiment.

Some of the members of the first generation made the following remarks concerning the schools:

"Most of the Japanese boys and girls in this community go to the language schools. I send my boys also. But I actually don't care whether they go or not. They attend the school because it is customary to do so."

⁴ For comparative purposes, see S. Tsuboi, "The Japanese Language School Teacher," *Jour. of Applied Sociology*, XI; 160-65.

"I don't especially want my children to be educated in the Japanese ideas and customs, but I do want them to be able to speak Japanese. My boy is Japanese, and it is best for him to know the language."

"I do not send my children to the language school. I wouldn't object to their going, if they wished. But it is almost impossible for them to learn a great deal about the Japanese language, when the English language is so much more familiar to them. They haven't the time to learn both languages."

Almost all the parents are very anxious to help the children at home in the study of the language and the history of Japan.

It is difficult to determine exactly how much influence these schools have on the outlook of the Japanese children. But, due to a certain amount of lack of interest on the part of the children, a realization by the parents of their passing importance, and the limited time spent in the schools, the influence cannot be great.

Mr. Kawakami says that "The present generation of children do not attend the Japanese schools because they want to. They have no patriotic fervor urging them to do so, and they will have none, unless the animus is furnished by forbidding attendance, thereby making the study of Japanese a fetish, which every child will hug to its bosom, and cultivate as a matter of sentiment and sacred duty, to vindicate it's right to freedom."⁵

The ideal situation would be that a common language should be used by all who are citizens in our country. It is evident that this situation will in time come to pass. Until then, the language schools of the Japanese should be recognized as filling a justifiable need.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 159.

A SOCIAL DISTANCE SCALE

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IN MAKING the social distance scale in its present form¹ the writer prepared a list of 60 single sentence descriptions, nearly all of which were heard in ordinary conversations where a person was expressing himself about other persons. These statements represent several different types of social relationships; that is, they relate to contacts within the family, within social or fraternal groups, within neighborhoods, within churches, within schools, within play groups, within transportation groups, within occupational and business groups, within political or national groups.

One hundred persons² were invited to rate each of the 60 statements according to the amount of social distance which it is judged that the statements represent.³ Each of the 100 persons was asked to judge the amount of social distance which he thought existed between the person making, for example, statement No. 1 and the person concerning whom it was made, from the standpoint of the first two persons involved. In the same fashion each statement was judged.

¹ Now available in an experimental edition, mimeographed form, covering four pages, with page 1 given over to instructions; page 2, to racial distance; page 3, to occupational distance; and page 4, to religious distance. An additional but separate page explains the method of scoring.

² The writer wishes to express special thanks to each of these persons who so generously gave of his time in acting as a judge.

³ Although the writer is indebted for the technique used in preparing this new social distance scale chiefly to L. L. Thurstone (Thurstone and Chave, *The Measurement of Attitude*, University of Chicago Press, 1929), he has varied from Thurstone's methods at several points.

I

SOCIAL DISTANCE STATEMENTS

1. "Would marry."
2. "Would be willing to have my brother or sister marry."
3. "Would be willing to have my son or daughter marry."
4. "Would have as chums."
5. "Would have a minority in my social club, fraternity, or lodge."
6. "Would have as a majority in my social club, fraternity, or lodge."
7. "Would debar from my social club, fraternity, or lodge."
8. "Would have as my regular friends."
9. "Would decline to have as friends."
10. "Would have merely as speaking acquaintances."
11. "Would decline to speak to."
12. "Would have as my guests at public dinners."
13. "Would decline to be seen with in public."
14. "Would have as my guests at private dinners."
15. "Would entertain overnight in my home."
16. "Would decline to invite to my home."
17. "Would allow one family only (of their group) to live in my city block."
18. "Would allow several families (of their group) to live in my city block."
19. "Would live surrounded by them in their neighborhood."
20. "Would rejoice when as my neighbors they gained increased social standing."
21. "Would feel disturbed when as my neighbors they gained increased social standing."
22. "Would debar from my neighborhood."
23. "Would take as my guests at church."
24. "Would have a few as members of my church."
25. "Would have one-half of my church composed of their group."
26. "Would have as my pastor, or religious guide."
27. "Would have as my teachers."
28. "Would allow a few of their children to attend school with my children."
29. "Would have none of their children attend school with my children."

30. "Would have two-thirds of the school attended by my children composed of their children."
31. "Would have their children attend segregated schools."
32. "Would have my small children play with them regularly."
33. "Would have their young people as social equals for my adolescent sons and daughters."
34. "Would forbid my children from playing with their children."
35. "Would dance with in public regularly."
36. "Would dance with in private regularly."
37. "Would play bridge or golf with regularly."
38. "Would play bridge or golf with occasionally."
39. "Would decline to play bridge or golf with."
40. "Would take as guests on automobile trips."
41. "Would ride with them as their automobile guests."
42. "Would decline to ride in an automobile with them."
43. "Would have them ride in segregated sections of street cars."
44. "Would ride in same seat with them in street cars."
45. "Would have as mayors of cities in my country."
46. "Would have several of them in our Congress."
47. "Would debar them from being Congressmen."
48. "Would have as president of my country."
49. "Would have as voting citizens of my country up to 1/5 of total population."
50. "Would have as voting citizens of my country up to 1/3 of total population."
51. "Would have as voting citizens of my country up to 2/3 of total population."
52. "Would allow as visitors in my country but without citizenship rights."
53. "Would keep out of my country entirely either as visitors or citizens."
54. "Would work beside in an office."
55. "Would decline to work with in same office."
56. "Would work under as my supervisor."
57. "Would have them as my business partners."
58. "Would have them in a competitive business near my business location."
59. "Would have them in a noncompetitive business near my business location."
60. "Would debar them as competitors in my business."

Each of the 60 statements was typed on a 3 by 5 slip of paper. Each judge was given the 60 different slips of paper and asked to distribute them in seven boxes or piles representing seven different degrees of social distance.⁴

When this was done each judge was asked to study carefully the slips in each box or pile and to reclassify any that might be rated more accurately. No rule was made looking toward an even distribution. It was requested, however, that at the close of the exercise, each of the seven boxes must contain at least one slip. In case more than 15 slips (25 per cent of the total) appeared in any box it was concluded that sufficient discrimination had not been used;⁵ and the work of this judge was discarded.⁶

Social distance was defined in this instance for each judge as the degree of sympathetic understanding that exists between two persons or between a person and a group (personal distance, or personal-group distance). The judge was urged to view the social distance situation described on each slip as objectively as possible. Each judge of course worked independently of the others.

The 100 judges included 66 faculty members and graduate students, all imbued with something of the research point of view, and 34 undergraduates. The number included 62 women and 38 men.⁷

The judgements, ranging from 1 to 7 for each of the 60 statements by the 100 judges were added and the arith-

⁴ Thurstone advocates a much larger number of divisions than seven, but preliminary experimentation by the writer raised the question whether the ordinary person can make very many more than seven clear-cut discriminations in dealing with materials of this type. There is room for further experimentation at this point.

⁵ Following Thurstone's suggestion, *op. cit.*

⁶ There were only two such cases. In each of these instances, however, there was a very uneven distribution as far as the remaining six boxes were concerned.

⁷ The materials on hand show interesting differences between the social distance reactions of faculty members and graduate students on one hand, and of undergraduates on the other; also the differences in the social distance reactions of men and women.

metic mean taken. The mean varied from 1.00 for statement No. 1 to 6.98 for statement No. 53. In order to obtain a series of equal social-distance situations, the statements having means nearest 2.00, 3.00, 4.00, 5.00, and 6.00 were selected, which together with the statements (1 and 53) having means of 1.00 and 6.98, constitute the series of seven nearly equidistant social distance situations that were selected for the scale.⁸ The seven statements are as follows:

II

SEVEN EQUIDISTANT SOCIAL SITUATIONS

1. Would marry
2. Would have as regular friends
3. Would work beside in an office
4. Would have several families in my neighborhood
5. Would have merely as speaking acquaintances
6. Would have live outside my neighborhood
7. Would have live outside my country

In administering the test the subject is given a list of 40 races, 30 occupations, and 30 religions together with the following general instructions:

III

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS

You are urged to give yourself as complete freedom as possible. In fact, the greater the freedom you give yourself, the more valuable will be the results. Use only checkmarks or crosses.

Seven kinds of social contacts are given.

You are asked to give in every instance your first feeling reactions. Proceed through the tests without delaying. The more you "stop

⁸ The wording of statement No. 6 which originally read "Would debar from my neighborhood" has been changed to its following form in order to make it more uniform with the wording of the other statements. Likewise No. 7 originally read "Would debar from my country."

to think," the less valuable will be the results. Give your reactions to every race, occupation, or religion in the following lists which you have ever heard of.

Social distance means the different degrees of sympathetic understanding that exist between persons. This test relates to a special form of social distance known as personal-group distance, or the distance that exists between a person and groups, such as races, occupations, and religions.

By taking this test at intervals of six months or a year, a person can discover what some of the changes in attitudes are that he is undergoing. If given to a group at intervals, changes in group attitudes may likewise be gauged.

Specific instructions are also given as follows but are repeated at intervals so as to keep them before the subject's mind as steadily as possible.

IV

SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS

Remember to give your first feeling reactions in every case.

Give your reactions to each race as a group. Do not give your reactions to the best or the worst members that you have known.

Put a cross after each race in as many of the seven columns as your feeling reactions dictate.

The instructions issued to persons administering the test include the following practical suggestions:

V

ADMINISTERING SUGGESTIONS

In giving this test to a group it is best for the leader to read over aloud the first page of the test and the instructions at the top of the second page, and to give opportunity for questions concerning the procedure.

It is also well for the leader to take a test and as he reads the names in the left hand column on each page, to go through the exercise himself, reading the names of each race, occupation, religion

aloud. In this way he will set a good example as a participant, and secure the best possible coöperation; moreover, he will be able from time to time to compare his own social distance reactions in each of the three fields.

The scoring procedure is kept as simple as possible, so that persons may score their own test records.

VI

SCORING SUGGESTIONS

In scoring, the simple practice is used of adding the numbers of the columns nearest to the left which has been checked, for instance, for each race, that is, the checked column bearing the lowest number, and of adding these numbers for each race, and dividing by the total number of races that have been checked. In this way it is possible to obtain a person's racial distance quotient (Ra. D. Q.); also his occupational distance quotient (O. D. Q.), and his religious distance quotient (Re. D. Q.). By adding these and dividing by three, a number will be obtained which may be called his social distance quotient (S. D. Q.). If other distance tests are devised and taken by an individual, the results may be included in determining the individual's S. D. Q. By giving these tests to a person at intervals of perhaps six months or a year it would be possible to note changes in his attitudes.

By taking the lowest column number that is checked, for example, for each race by each member of a group of persons and averaging the total it is possible to obtain a group racial distance quotient (G. R. D. Q.) for the given group toward each of the 40 races that are listed on p. 2 of the mimeographed form. In the same way group occupation distance and group religious quotients can be obtained.

If a given race, occupation, or religion has not been checked it should be omitted in the scoring.

Book Notes

CIVILIZATION AND SOCIETY. By FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS. Holt and Co., New York, 1932, pp. x+412.

PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF SOCIOLOGY. By JAMES M. REINHARDT and GEORGE R. DAVIES. Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1932.

A useful service has been rendered in printing the remarkable series of lectures delivered to students at Columbia University by Professor Giddings before his health broke. The verbatim lecture-room phraseology has been maintained, which enables Dr. H. W. Odum, the editor, to observe, "In this book, Professor Giddings is teaching again." However, the printed page fails to reproduce a great deal that Professor Giddings' students received from him in the classroom. The range and balance of thought disclosed by this volume is truly remarkable for it brings within two covers the many-sidedness as well as the extension of human behavior through the centuries. The account includes (1) the nature and dynamics of society, and the interaction of human beings in society; (2) the historical evolution of society; (3) the evolution of society and the resultant problems; and (4) the functional performance and achievement of society.

Reinhardt and Davies have produced a text in sociology with new features. The main theme is the psychological interaction of persons involving competition and coöperation with special indebtedness being due alike to inborn impulses and the culture patterns of groups. A special approach is found in the rôle that "economic law" and "the processes of trade" play in social situation. Statistical methods and illustrations are used so extensively that the result might almost be called a statistical introduction to sociology. The rule of logic has been well observed, although the pedagogy may be questioned of placing first the part on "The Social Process," and then Parts II and III on "Factors Conditioning Society," and "Institutional Aspects of Society," respectively. The volume is a worthy addition to the many texts in the field.

E. S. B.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR SOZIALFORSCHUNG. Frankfort on the Main, Germany, 1932, pp. 252.

The Institute for Social Research, Frankfort on the Main, Germany, has issued its first copy of *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* (*Review of Social Research*). This is a masterful double volume of over 250 pages. With characteristic German thoroughness the *first part* of the volume is devoted to comprehensive articles in the field of economics, sociology, and social psychology. There is a conspicuous lack of concrete illustrative material of field studies, of the "documentary evidence" which characterizes American writings. Yet the "factual framework" into which the German treatises are cast, convinces the reader that empirical data are held in the background and form a solid foundation upon which constructive hypotheses and broad theories rest. Profound theoretical insight into social reality and into the structural and functional phases of societal life in its broad ramifications is the keynote of practically every article. Social phenomena are treated not as separate entities but as manifestations and functionings of life as a whole. The historical order of social phenomena is so expertly handled as to give the data broad scientific perspective.

Professor Horkheimer, Director of the Institute for Social Research, points out in the foreword that the term "social research" does not pretend to outline new boundaries on the present problematic map of the social sciences. Rather, the inquiries concern themselves with the greatest variety of facts and levels of abstraction which must be treated as a composite, in order to promote the theory of contemporary society as a unit.

The second part of the volume (fully one-half of its contents) is devoted to reviews of important books on philosophy, general and special sociology, psychology, social movements, economics, "Sozialpolitik" and belletristics—by prominent German, English, French, and American writers. The selection of books for review and the competency of the reviewers are especially commendable. The whole volume presents an unusual opportunity for keeping in touch with the writings of present-day leading social scientists on a wide variety of social scientific interests.

P. V. Y.

HARD TIMES—THE WAY IN AND THE WAY OUT. By RICHARD T. ELY. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1931, pp. x+192.

This little book is the outcome of a class lecture. In it the author points out some of the conditions that must be met before industrial depressions will cease. Among the improvements are a wiser and more productive use of land. Useless subdivisions of property in the neighborhood of large cities should be prevented. Overproduction should be supplanted by balanced production. Dr. Ely wisely protests against the attempts to promote prosperity by manipulation of the market. "The way to general prosperity is to be found in abundance," he writes, but there is need of integration, and, industry must be organized so as to prevent waste and to increase returns, relatively, to labor and to capital. He favors a public works program and speaks of a "Peace-Time Army" for which he would develop plans that would prevent unemployment. Further research and additional increase of knowledge are necessary. All of these methods working together should provide a way out of hard times. Immediate perfection is not possible, but measurable success should be achieved; relief is of minor importance; employment and production have the greater value.

G. B. M.

SMALL-TOWN STUFF. By ALBERT BLUMENTHAL. University of Chicago Press, 1932, pp. xvii+416.

"Mineville" is a mining town of 1410 inhabitants; and "small-town stuff," in the words of Ernest W. Burgess who writes the Preface is: "Close acquaintanceship of everyone with everyone else, the dominance of personal relations, and the subjection of the individual to continuous observation and control by the community." Participant observation (Lindeman) and sympathetic introspection (Coolidge) are the two methods that are used. Gossip is discussed as one of the main agencies of social control. Flaming youth is seen as not much different at heart from similar youth in large cities although their objective behavior is more controlled. Personality types are given as the very Enthusiastic, the Satisfied, the Resigned, and the Dissatisfied. Important changes are taking place in Mineville, due to "the automobile, the motion picture, the radio, as well as the daily newspapers." A revealing picture of the *whole community life* of a small town is the main contribution of this volume.

E. S. B.

SHORTER HOURS. By MARION COLTER CAHILL. Columbia University Press, New York, 1932, p. 300.

This study is a survey of the means which have been utilized in the United States since the Civil War to lessen the hours of labor. The struggle in reality has been waged by two parties, the workers, who have been fighting, sometimes rather hopelessly, and the employers, who have offered every kind of determined resistance to change. Gains for the workers have been made usually during periods of prosperity when their bargaining power was at a maximum, although there has been a steady annual decrease. The contention for shorter hours has strengthened organizations of workers, and has led to remedial legislative measures. Strikes with their excessive costs have sometimes succeeded for the organized, but have usually failed for the unorganized. Employers who have voluntarily reduced the hours are few, and the author concludes that the influence of even a Henry Ford has been of little consequence. In fact, there seems to be a feeling amongst many employers that any abrupt change in the hours of labor would be generally harmful. If there is a lesson in all this, it is the strength of a cultural lag—the old idea of the agricultural era of hours of work still being insisted upon as useful in a highly industrially-mechanized era. The present economic plight has focussed public attention upon the shorter work day but it is thought of as a temporary expedient. Consequently, the author is not generally optimistic that the shorter hours have come to stay. The struggle will resume itself shortly. The case studies are real contributions.

M. J. V.

BASAL SOCIAL SCIENCE. By DAVID SNEDDEN and GENEVRA SNEDDEN. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1932, pp. viii +462.

Designed for the use of young people of high-school age, this unique and attractive volume is built on the group approach to the study of social science. The chapters are arranged in four parts, namely: The many coöperating groups, materials available to form groups, why and how do groups work, and the choices we make in forming groups. Many short stories and excerpts from group illustrative materials are inserted all along. At times relatively simple, the book bristles with thought-provoking questions for high-school students and is bound to further the socialization process.

E. S. B.

THE QUEST FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE. By HAROLD U. FAULKNER.
The Macmillan Company, New York, 1931, pp. xvii+390.

In this book written in popular style the author presents some of the progressive movements that occurred between 1898 and 1914. A very important chapter dealing with labor ends with the statement that the chief opposition to social legislation was found in the courts and not in the public. The new democracy brought out such men as Johnson, Cleveland, La Follette, and Roosevelt. Meanwhile we witnessed a decline in the doctrine of *laissez faire*. Women, too, entered a new era; many sought the gainful occupations and the campaign for political rights produced many favorable results. The increasing rights of children produced better child labor laws and improved systems of education. Religion struggled for moral reform and the temperance movement gained much ground. In combating disease and in promoting public health great advance was also made. In recreation there were ups and downs. Much that was legitimate gained ground but indecency too made considerable headway. America also entered upon the path of imperialism. Its economic life reached a condition of maturity and increasing control and regulation became necessary.

This account of American progress is rather optimistic. Viewed from a distance of eighteen years one wonders how genuine or fundamental some of the changes cited actually were. However, it is a very worth while chapter in the larger story of our quest for social justice.

G. B. M.

EMERGENCY WORK RELIEF. By JOANNA C. COLCORD and others. Russell Sage Foundation, 1932, pp. 286. Price, \$1.50.

This report is an analysis of the experience of 26 American communities with work relief. The cities studied are found in the east and the Middle West. The three largest cities of the country are included and the westernmost community was Kansas City, Kansas. The report presents in some detail the plans, program, and results of work relief in each of the cities included in the study. Part III is concerned with setting up a program of work relief. It suggests the principles on which the plan must be based and also the form of organization necessary to make it operate successfully. In the appendix are given various forms used by work-relief bureaus. The report should be very helpful to all social workers facing the problem of emergency relief-giving.

G. B. M.

SELECTED SPEECHES OF BOOKER T. WASHINGTON.
Edited by E. DAVIDSON WASHINGTON. Doubleday, Doran and
Co., New York, 1932, pp. xvi+283.

AMERICAN MINORITY PEOPLES. By DONALD YOUNG. Harper
and Bros., New York, 1932, pp. xv+621.

The first of these volumes presents twenty-nine addresses or excerpts from addresses delivered by Booker T. Washington between 1884 and 1915, the year of his death. These addresses are arranged in chronological order, and are all characterized by simplicity, candor, good will, idealism, and spirituality. Covering a span of thirty-one years, these addresses maintain an unusually high level throughout. It is noteworthy that the earliest reveal the same superiority that the later ones show.

The second volume is a comprehensive and dispassionate treatise on the Negro, the immigrant groups, and the Indian. It adopts the term "minority peoples," as a substitute for "races." Its purpose is "to give new perspective to academic discussions of American race relations as well as to summarize and interpret the outstanding facts in the history and present condition of our minority peoples." The author achieves this purpose with unusual skill. Freshness of attack gives to this discussion of racial problems a new zest.

Surprising as it may seem to some, the author reports that the public school "is not at present an important agency in reducing racial frictions," for the school is dependent on community opinion. Teachers cannot rise far above the racial prejudices of the community without danger to their positions. The author finds that art plays a paradoxical rôle in race relations. "In general it tends to confirm the racial attitudes of the majority toward the minorities, and at the same time drive these prejudices into the minds of the minorities themselves." It is indicated that the basic race conflict is the inevitable struggle between the ideals of justice and "immediate sacrifice for the gains of posterity," and "the practical exigencies of personal interests which may not be dismissed by an accusation of selfishness." The book is notable for its pointed questions as well as sane observations.

E. S. B.

THE WHOLESOME PERSONALITY. By WILLIAM H. BURNHAM. D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1932, pp. xv +713.

In this extensive account of human personality the author maintains a balance of thought and simplicity of style that will meet with widespread approval. He keeps the point of view of mental health to the forefront, which leads him to enunciate three basic principles, namely, growth and maturation, learning, and integration. During the eight years that have transpired since his earlier volume, *The Normal Mind*, appeared, many studies have been made; the author has consequently enlarged his thought and developed in the new book the mental hygiene principles which were represented in the earlier book. The principle of integration is the keynote to both volumes. He has stated it as follows: "The essential thing for the mental health of the individual is the integration of all the different factors and traits and different selves of the individual in a balanced and harmonious but progressive and developing personality." Of the eighteen chapters the one on "The Objective Attitude" is outstanding. The concluding chapters on "The Renaissance of Personality" are likewise of special value. The chapter on "The Problem of the Social Group" is stimulating but hardly adequate from a sociological angle. The author does not think primarily of persons as being group products but rather as semi-independent units, victims of fears and psychoses due to group repressions. He hopes, however, for social groups which will be more constructive in their influences upon individuals.

E. S. B.

THE SCIENTIFIC BASIS OF EVOLUTION. By THOMAS HUNT MORGAN. W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., New York, 1932, pp. ix+286.

Dr. Morgan's superb presentation of the factors of evolution merits unqualified praise. First of all, in point of style, it is admirable in simplicity, charm, and effectiveness. Secondly, the choice of subject matter is excellent and well-adapted for the comprehension of any intelligent lay-reader and student. Thirdly, it has a point of view which, authoritative as it is, can ill afford to be neglected by any one deeply concerned with genetic and eugenic materials.

The distinguished author contributes many new technical facts in regard to the cellular basis of heredity, which should immeasurably

influence and direct new research studies in the field of genetics. Moreover, his vital criticisms of those who would limit too severely the work of the laboratory mechanists, as well as those referring to the over-enthusiastic evolutionists, are disciplinary in the right direction. That man has a right to investigate to the extreme limit in order to direct his own evolution is entirely sensible. There is nothing in this that necessarily discharges the philosopher and the metaphysician from the scene of action, but there is a challenge from the mechanist that he be allowed to pursue his own task until he finds his limitations for himself.

The chapter on "Mendelian Inheritance" will be found to be invaluable for students, for here, at last, is a forceful lucid explanation all too rarely given in other books on the subject. A similar statement may be made in regard to the very fine chapter on the "Theory of Sexual Selection and Hormones." The materials of this chapter are presented in such a way that new vistas of thought will be opened to the student. I can recommend the book in every particular, even though there be statements over which one will want to engage in argument. For the final test of a book comes in its measure of stimulation and challenge. And it is inviting to such an extent that each chapter becomes an invitation to the next. M. J. V.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS. By SERAFIN E. MACARAIG. The Educational Supply Company, Manila, P. I., 1929, pp. 431.

In this work in sociology there is a special tang and attraction because of the concrete materials introduced from conditions in the Philippine Islands. The setting of the book in the life and problems of Filipinos make it refreshing. The author writes with clearness, frankness, and force. Trained in part in the United States he reflects American sociological viewpoints, modified and refined according to conditions in the islands by the equator. In addition to parts on Social Forces and Social Processes there are important sections on the Family, Population, Community, and Poverty. Throughout, the social psychology of the Filipino and his situation holds the reader's attention. Many interesting observations are made, such as: "One of the greatest blunders of American administration in the Islands is the raising of the Filipino Standard of Living without any solid economic foundation with which to sustain it." E. S. B.

THE GOVERNMENT IN LABOR DISPUTES. By EDWIN E. WITTE. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1932, pp. xi+352.

Seeking to give a complete account of the rôle of the government in labor disputes, this book satisfactorily reviews the treatment of labor statutes and labor disputes by legislative and judicial functionaries. Most fortunately, the author discusses the problems from the economic, rather than from the legalistic point of view. A merit of the book is that its author has, by a striking clarity of style, made intelligible for the lay reader, the intent of the many court decisions affecting labor, and has most engagingly presented the social implications resulting therefrom. Major emphasis is placed upon the injunction and the strike, with sympathetic intentions towards labor union utilization of these devices in the future. It is the contention of Dr. Witte that labor unions might profit considerably by lessening their attacks on the injunctions and concentrating on an effective method of dealing with the wholesale arrests of strike leaders and strikers. This is emphasized because the arrests in the past have had a disheartening effect upon the morale of the whole body of union men.

While adding little that is new to the material on the injunction as presented in Frankfurter and Greene's *The Labor Injunction*, the discussion is considerably simplified and brought to an admirable conciseness. The value of the book is enhanced by both numerous and complete references to court decisions, and by a really fine bibliography. Its concluding chapter is a good contribution in itself. It is rightly held that a policy of wide freedom for both parties to work out their own destinies is wisest and best for the promotion of industrial peace. It is indeed high time to convince the public that strikes are not causes but results of bad conditions, and that radical labor leaders are not "born that way" but are conditioned by the industrial environment. The rôle of the government should be that of a wise preserver of the peace and that of an impartial adjuster in cases of dispute. The author has succeeded in presenting a standard reference work in this particular field of industrial relations.

M. J. V.

MANCHURIA, CRADLE OF CONFLICT. By OWEN LATTIMORE. Macmillan Company, New York, 1932, pp. xvi+311.

CONTEMPORARY ROUMANIA AND HER PROBLEMS. By JOSEPH S. ROUCEK. Stanford University Press, California, 1932, pp. xxv+422.

MEXICO, A STUDY OF TWO AMERICAS. By STUART CHASE. Macmillan Company, New York, 1931, pp. vii+338.

SEA ISLAND TO CITY. By CLYDE V. KISER, Columbia University Press, 1932, pp. 272.

The strong point of Owen Lattimore's book on Manchuria is the close-up picture which is given of three cultures—Chinese, Russian, and Japanese-Western. In this political storm center, the Chinese are overwhelmingly ahead in colonization, with Russia and Japan occupying strategic flank positions and having strong aims of domination. Although the Chinese are being Westernized, they are endeavoring to keep on top and to maintain a Chinese framework. The Russians are even more selective. The Japanese have been busy in keeping up a Westernization pace. "Under the stress of keeping up with the West and trying to cut down the handicap of a late start, much that is 'modern' in Japan is, perforce, more imitative than creative" (p. 87). The contest in Manchuria is between race and region on one hand, and culture and nation, on the other. Will cultures assert themselves over peoples? The author discloses an extensive understanding of this and other problems and furnishes interesting cultural data as food for thought.

Dr. Roucek has done a unique piece of work in his scholarly work on Roumania. After devoting five chapters to the history of that interesting country, he analyzes Roumanian political life in detail, and devotes special attention to economic life and problems. Among her special problems he lists (1) the minorities problem, (2) the effects of the world-wide depression, (3) the bad influences of the World War, and (4) political and social differences. A small but unique item that is mentioned is the "Radiophonic Little Entente" with its coordination of "radio programs of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Roumania." An intensive bibliography concludes this valuable document.

In his usual fascinating style, Mr. Chase pilots his readers through Mexican cities and villages. He draws first upon his own observations and second upon investigations and reports such as those made

by Robert Redfield and Manuel Gamio. He makes comparisons with "Middletown." Striking pictures are given in his chapters on machineless men, where individuals are seen groping their way upward toward the light of a better day. Labor unions are losing and agrarian concentration is on the gain—two ominous signs. Otherwise, the sky is promising with health work and rural education on the gain. A chapter of wholesome advice is offered to Mexico—with a finger pointed toward decentralized industry.

Mr. Kiser traces the Negro migration from St. Helena Island, South Carolina to Harlem, New York—a migration from a rural environment to an urban one. The first chapter gives a fairly complete summary of Harlem and its population of about 200,000 Negroes. By comparison the simple life in St. Helena Island is portrayed. The motives of the migrants and their dispersion are analyzed. By coming to Harlem the migrant loses a considerable degree of independence, the advantage of "close group and family life," and the open country. He requires a better wage and a chance to climb higher, the advantages of inventions in the home and the proximity to places of entertainment. A decline in religious interest is noticeable. Probably self-respect and race consciousness of Negroes have risen. Fundamental adjustments are taking place. This monograph is exceedingly valuable in the study of race problems and changes.

E. S. B.

BROWN AMERICA. *The Story of a New Race.* By EDWIN R. EMBREE. The Viking Press, New York, 1931, pp. vi+311.

Under this novel title the author surveys the development and the problems of the Negro in the United States, whom he characterizes as a combination of black, white, and yellow-brown. With a new biological make-up, the Negro has also a new culture that is "almost entirely cut off from the ancient African home." With picturesque chapter headings, such as *Keeping Alive in the New Environment*, *Learning the New Civilization*, *Brown Ballots*, *Soil and Soul*, the author describes with sympathetic accuracy the struggles of the new Brown race from its early history in the United States to the present. The author does not fear that the Negro will not be absorbed into American life but that he will be so completely "Americanized" that he will "simply swell the ranks of standardized mediocrity."

E. S. B.

THE CONCEPTS OF SOCIOLOGY: A Treatise Presenting a Suggested Organization of Sociological Theory in Terms of Its Major Concepts. By EARLE EDWARD EUBANK. D. C. Heath and Company, New York, 1932, pp. xvii+570.

In this volume we see a work of high scholarship, which is a credit to its author and a real contribution to sociological literature. The subject itself imposed severe requirements, under which the author has labored seven years with admirable grasp of the metaphysical, logical, physio-chemical, biological, and psychological implications involved at every turn of the discussion. This highly philosophical task Dr. Eubank has done with fine mental balance, not excepting his analysis of the immense array of strictly sociological works, which constitutes the central field of his survey. No doubt almost any reviewer could pick flaws in the book, but these would be greatly outweighed by its merit as a whole.

Perhaps it would not be a misinterpretation to say that the dominating method of the author's thinking is that of formal logic, and that the book itself possesses many of the qualities of a work in that field. The author himself says, "Two lines of thought have governed the direction of our journey: (1) the necessity for making a logical classification of concepts which corresponds to a logical classification of the underlying phenomena of human society and (2) the conviction that the categories of societary phenomena parallel those of the physical world." (p. 78). In carrying out this plan Professor Eubank uses as "the four major categories of sociology," Societary Composition, Societary Causation, Societary Change, and Societary Products. Under these four divisions are named seven "major categories," of which the author says emphatically: "Any sociological phenomenon that may be examined, automatically and simultaneously involves the seven elements of individual, group, energy, control, action, relationship, and product." (p. 79).

Under Societary Composition he makes a definite contribution in his own concept of "the situation self." This is the *person*, but not the "personality," which is "the spiritual self," one of the three permanent *selves* of "the single human being," the last named a phrase which he accredits to von Wiese. Dr. Eubank's concept of the *situation self* is challenging, and it has great significance for the current pronouncements of psychologists on transfer of training and learning in academic schooling, and of the situational aspect of dishonesty and deceit, in connection with character education.

Dr. Eubank's discussion, in the succeeding chapter, of *The Human Plurel*, is a very lucid exposition of the nature of society and group-life. His treatment of "societary energy (force)" presents an excellent review of the wishes, attitudes, and values as they figure in current discussion. In surveying "social control" his treatment faithfully reflects the recent tendency to confuse it with social interaction in general, but he extricates himself in the end from that pitfall by explicitly declaring that "a control situation must be of the sort where the stimulator dominates the responder . . . in brief it is a *domination-subjection* circuit . . ." (p. 250). Social change and culture (treated under "products") are portrayed as they go in sociological literature of past and present, and that is with some confusion which cannot be discussed here.

The abstract, formalistic character of the author's method is well exemplified in this insistence that societal relationships are to be definitely distinguished from societary action. The result is his *Outline No. 15* (p. 322), wherein are presented two parallel columns containing precisely the same entries, one list called "Action" and the other "Relationship." The author himself is aware of his formalism, however, and distinctly admits later, "Conceptually, the distinction between them is clear. . . . Actually they are inseparable." (p. 330).

The volume is so replete with lucid and stimulating expositions of important sociological concepts that Dr. Eubank's critical survey will have to be reckoned with by every student of formal systematic sociology. The hundred-and-a-half pages of bibliographies alone will make that necessary and profitable.

C. M. C.

IMMIGRANT GIFTS TO AMERICAN LIFE. By ALLEN H. EATON. Russell Sage Foundation, 1932, pp. 185. Price, \$3.00.

The author writes, "This book is concerned with efforts to bring out the immigrant's contributions to the cultural life of America, and to make him feel that by his very origin he has something to give, be it ever so little, which his new country could not have without him." Part I deals with exhibitions of arts and crafts. It recounts the operation of such an exhibition at Buffalo and discusses the technique of exhibition work. Part II is devoted largely to festivals and gives numerous illustrations. It suggests resources for future exhibitions and presents a singular array of names. More than fifty excellent illustrations illuminate the book. It is a very interesting sidelight on the thought expressed in the title.

G. B. M.

TRADE UNION POLICIES IN THE MASSACHUSETTS SHOE INDUSTRY, 1919-1929. By THOMAS L. NORTON. Columbia University Press, New York, 1932, pp. 377.

Trade union policies in the Massachusetts shoe industry have been utilized as a background for the study of the behavior of organized workers for two reasons. First, the state ranks first as the most important shoe producing area in the United States, and secondly, trade unionism in the shoe industry in that area has grown and developed farther than in other places. The importance of the volume is enhanced by a thorough investigation of trade union policies and practices. Nearly one-half of the book is devoted to case studies of the uses of arbitration in the shoe industry. These case histories cause Dr. Norton to conclude that while arbitration is not a cure-all for all labor problems, it does contribute "to the cause of peace in industry by restricting such strife to those fields in which no possible basis for settlement exists." He finds that two general cases for arbitration must be distinguished, those in which facts resting upon existing trade agreements must be interpreted, and those in which awards for wages must be determined by fundamental principles. If arbitration is to succeed at all, constructive leadership on both sides must be present, a leadership which will recognize the primal importance of determining the basic standards for settling labor disputes. In the cases studied, there was much dissatisfaction with awards because they were generally based upon temporary and changing conditions. Hence, the decisions instead of building up slowly a body of industrial codes, were made to alleviate a conflict situation for a short time only. The relative bargaining strength at any one time determined the action of the arbitrator. The study indicates the difficulties of the task of successful arbitration in industry and points out very clearly the reasons for the failures that occur.

M. J. V.

WOMEN'S MISDEMEANANTS DIVISION OF THE MUNICIPAL COURT OF PHILADELPHIA. Report prepared by RUTH TOPPING. Thomas Skelton Harrison Foundation, Philadelphia, 1932, pp. xxvii+310.

This volume is a careful survey of the struggle of a municipal court with prostitution and venereal disease. It contains many suggestions regarding changes in policy and procedure.

GENETIC PRINCIPLES IN MEDICINE AND SOCIAL SCIENCE. By LANCELOT HOGBEN. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1932, pp. 230.

The most valuable contribution in this book about human inheritance is its modest appraisal of the advances made thus far in genetics. Dr. Hogben states that the voluminous literature on the subject is calculated to give readers the impression that a great deal more is known about human inheritance than is actually the case. With this in view, he proceeds to set forth the available material for drawing scientific conclusions and for indicating the direction of further needed research; and for sociologists in particular, what genetical concepts may be introduced with value into their field. Consequently, Chapter IV, dealing with the genetic basis of social behavior, should be read carefully by all sociologists. Warning is given that "whatever genetic differences enter into the determination of such conditions (mental disorders and defects) are not likely to be understood so long as we neglect the demonstrable significance of environmental agencies in the determination of 'mental' disorders and defects."

The chapter on the "Concept of Race" is perhaps the finest in the book, written as it is, with cautious restraint, and yet with penetrating analysis. Geneticists and anthropologists and social philosophers are shown to be supporting each other on the general assumption that each of them has found the true supporting facts for the other. Many eugenicists have held that the careless crossing of races produces a mongrel breed, but according to Hogben's critical survey, the evidence is shown to have been mischievously gathered. Nordic supremacy is given a shocking setback, as are many other current generalizations which have been seized upon by organizations of men as proof of the superiority of their ancestral chromosomes.

M. J. V.

THE PROHIBITION EXPERIMENT IN FINLAND. By JOHN H. WUORINEN. Columbia University Press, New York, 1931, pp. x+251.

After a survey of the pros and cons of prohibition in Finland, the author predicts that change in national legislation will be necessary. The difference between the national will and the will of the individual is well presented, also facts concerning the success or failure of enforcement. Some time after the publication of this book Finland did repeal the prohibition law.

J. E. N.

AGRICULTURAL CREDIT IN THE UNITED STATES. By EARL S. SPARKS. The Crowell Company, New York, 1932, pp. xiii+476.

The history of credit for agriculture begins in colonial days and has continued until the present day. The author develops the steps in the progress that has been made and makes a very comprehensive analysis of the methods in vogue at the present time. Part II is devoted to the Land Banks and concludes with an appraisal of the Federal Land Bank system. Both advantages and disadvantages are discovered and certain very pertinent questions raised as to its economic soundness.

Agriculture was not favored by the commercial banks, and the national banks in particular had limited power to loan to farmers. Accordingly the system was condemned as unsatisfactory but the Federal Reserve law of 1913 has attempted to relieve the situation. Chapters are given to the Federal Intermediate Credit Banks, State Agricultural Credit Corporations, and to the Farm Board. In answer to the question, "Is the Farmer supplied with Credit Facilities?" the author makes this statement: "A study of the rural credit facilities convinces one that there are sufficient types of credit agencies for all legitimate farm credit needs. Much still remains to be done toward improving the quality of these facilities as well as the quality of the farmer risk which must be carried."

G. B. M.

ASPECTS OF DEPRESSION. Edited by FELIX MORLEY. University of Chicago Press, 1932, pp. xii+300.

A high level mark in radio addresses is achieved in this handy volume. Its prompt publication after the conclusion of the series (which extended from October 17, 1931, to May 21, 1932) over the countrywide network of the National Broadcasting Company is commendable. Rarely has such an excellent array of talent contributed to a series of radio talks. While unevenness appears, the results are of a high yet intelligible order. The addresses, each about eight pages in length, are arranged under three headings as follows: Economic Aspects of the Depression, Roads to Economic Recovery, and New Social Responsibilities. The contributors include Jane Addams, Bogart, Moulton, Gay, Hollander, Taussig, Commons, Laidler, Paul H. Douglas. Each grapples with a tough problem but maintains a sense of restrained optimism.

E. S. B.

A STUDY OF SOCIOLOGY. By E. J. Ross, Bruce Publishing Co., New York, 1932, pp. xxii+570.

With a strong English background, a thorough grounding in Catholic doctrine, and an appreciation of current sociological theory, the author produces a work which will find a wide usage among its intended constituency. Every point is carefully supported both by well selected materials from Papal encyclicals and other church documents and by careful reasoning. After a discussion of the postulates of sociology, comes a treatment of religious society, rural society, educational society, with analyses of social problems sandwiched between. Unemployment, poverty, relief, crime, race, family, are outstanding topics. On the subject of eugenics, the author states that the Catholic position is not averse to "selective breeding." He cites three major arguments that are given by eugenics in favor of birth control and answers these by materials quoted from Canon Law. More of the author's own original thinking on social issues would enhance the value of this well-prepared statement of the Catholic position on social questions.

E. S. B.

THE MEASUREMENT OF ATHLETIC POWER. By CHARLES HAROLD McCLOY. A. S. Barnes and Company, Inc., New York, 1932, pp. xiv+178.

"Some achievement standards in track and field athletic events for boys from ten to twenty years of age" is the subtitle of the book. There have been many treatises on mental tests and correlation; here is a new development for statistical analysis and measurement in the field of physical education, where motor capacity, units of power, and quality of performance are of significance. It is a commendable work for specialized information on athletic tests.

J. E. N.

PRIMITIVE SECRET SOCIETIES. A Study in Early Politics and Religion. By HUTTON WEBSTER. Second Edition, Revised. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1932, pp. xiii+243.

First published in 1908, this scholarly volume has stood the test of years. The new edition is a testimony to the sheer scholarly worth of Dr. Webster's research. Only minor changes have been made.

International Notes

Edited by JOHN ERIC NORDSKOG

GERMANY'S Reichstag election of November 6 merely left a crisis more difficult than ever to evade. Von Papen's cabinet of barons was given no choice except to resign. Hitler's party, the National Socialists or Nazis, lost strength, but is decidedly the most powerful group with about a third of the assembly, unable, however, to carry out the Fascist program of the party. Von Papen having been rejected, it remains to be seen whether Hitler will eventually be acceptable as Chancellor; he has, of course, refused to accept any of von Hindenburg's qualifying "conditions" with such an appointment. At the time of writing, Kurt von Schleicher is Chancellor, and his government has been having nothing but stormy and exciting experiences. The Nazis and Communists together threaten the government, and von Schleicher holds ready a decree for dissolution at a moment's notice in order to forestall a negative vote of confidence, in which case this would be his only weapon against the Nazis. As the people and the Reichstag are now divided, popular government in Germany is in grave peril. Since almost 35,500,000 of Germany's 44,500,000 qualified voters cast their ballots on November 6 for the fifth time this year, and since, even with a considerable loss of votes, the National Socialists carried nearly twelve million of the ballots, if popular government in Germany is to have a semblance of actuality, Hitler seemingly ought to have his chance at the Chancellorship. Apparently a coalition of party representatives is necessary, which is a discouraging situation when the two strong parties, the Nazis and the Communists, will coöperate with no party. Although these two parties mustered 49 per cent of the popular vote, so far they have wrought nothing but political indecisiveness, and the many parties that make up the other 51 per cent cannot possibly unite to combat them. The electorate is divided now into eleven parties of consequence and several minor ones. The group plan of government is therefore essential for constructive action in the Reichstag. With so many parties in existence, the actual issues must become hazy. It is

emphatically claimed by Hitler and his followers, however, that the Nazis are the only remaining barrier against communism in Germany, and von Hindenburg and the late von Papen government as well as the present Chancellor, von Schleicher, have been boldly accused of driving Germany to bolshevism. If the present situation is prolonged, there might result a shift of strength to more radical sympathies, or, if the psychology of fear is spread in Germany as it was in Great Britain several months ago, the turn might be conservative. A government cannot remain deadlocked without danger to its most basic institutions. Are we to think that the last desperate efforts are being made to save an economic and political system that is in danger of failure? Or is it not possible that Germany also faces change for a technocracy? If there is really a trend in that direction in the United States—and it has been promised us within about eight years—, then Germany, England, and other highly industrialized countries that suffer similar maladjustments are probably headed for the same solution.

THE FRENCH ARMS PLAN recently submitted to the disarmament conference at Geneva calls upon the Briand-Kellog pact, the League of Nations Covenant, and various regional agreements providing for mutual assistance against any aggressor. Thus after years of subtle delay these treaties seem to be useful even for the safety of France. Let it be noted, however, that no treaty is worth more than the reservations that stand as qualifications, and not only France, but all of the other nations know it. Germany has been justified in withdrawing from such farcical conferences as those of the past, but the tenor of the French plan now offered invites the coöperation of all nations. One feature, the establishment in European countries of short-term defensive conscript armies, may not be as innocent as its face, since there would thus be provided opportunity to train a considerable part of the population in the art of warfare. Ostensibly, however, there would be emphasis on the defensive aspect. Several features deal with international sanctions to be exercised by the League. Special offensive forces, for instance, would be placed under the direction of the League in time of emergency. The League would also control and have available for its particular use stocks of powerful arms in stated localities in the countries providing those stocks. The most offensive naval arms are to be suppressed, and a special Mediterranean naval pact and a general pact are to provide

accordingly. There has been a tendency to limit or abolish certain kinds of warfare. Of this nature is another feature of the French plan, which is the abolition of aërial bombardment and the regulation of all aircraft to prevent the use of bombardment; futhermore, the League, it is proposed, should have an air force for peace purposes. Article XVI of the League Covenant, which provides for sanctions in case of war, is a basic feature of the French plan. Unless Articles X and XVI are to function, the League would have little power of sanction, if any. In the Sino-Japanese conflict, which yet remains open as involving Manchuria and Japan's attitude toward the League as a direct consequence, Article XVI failed to operate, or rather the League failed to put it into effect. There is a marked agitation on foot in the League to deal more specifically according to the provisions of the Covenant as Japan continues so independent and hostile in her views. In the French plan the Article for sanctions might actually gain in its potential value to stop war and punish offenders, and experience has taught us that no part of the Covenant is more vital or necessary. Much will have been accomplished when the League becomes capable of more than merely passing resolutions. It surely should have the power of sanction, and will have such power when the great powers coöperate. In the face of other arms proposals, such as Hoover's suggestion for a one-third cut, the French plan provides something tangible for the conference to accept or improve.

A CONSORTIUM in which three powers—Britain, France, and Germany, with the ratio of 40, 40, and 20 repectively—are to unite, has been proposed for a make work policy to relieve unemployment on the continent. The first project will be the offer of a loan of 17,000,000,000 francs (currently \$680,000,000) for the electrification of railways in Poland, Rumania, Irak, and Portugal. The promoters "foresee a return of prosperity by the natural process of the development of industrialization." Thereby, it is thought, unemployment will be relieved in the lesser countries aided, and besides, factories in Britain, France, and Germany will be set in operation. The fact that important bankers in England lack enthusiasm for the project and doubt its early realization because of lack of ready capital, is worth noting. Germans, on the contrary, view the plan very favorably. Behind the project there seem to be huge enterprises which seek financing for building and construction work out of which they would

profit directly. There is nothing "natural" about the process; it is only another artificial, forced effort to revive big business interests. It is another type of R. F. C. (Reconstruction Finance Corporation), except that it provides for an international banking transaction in which goods, rather than money, would be moved, but eventually some one will have to pay for the goods, labor, and promotion. Extreme economic distress serves to cause coöperation between the major European powers where other means or inducements have notoriously failed.

PRESIDENT RODRIGUEZ has asked the Mexican Congress to enact legislation placing the electric power industry under Federal control. This would extend the nationalization program on the same basis as for mining and oil, and would also affect several American and Canadian companies which generate approximately ninety per cent of the power in Mexico. If nationalization of resources is to be realized in Mexico, the power industry is surely one of the most important for consideration. While Mexico thus defends herself against foreign exploitation by nationalizing industries, Americans might learn how to protect themselves against their very own power trusts. How about nationalization in the U. S. A.? Rodriguez has also issued instructions for the division of 1,250,000 acres of farming land. This continues a land-parceling program that appears very commendable. By the end of the year 1933 there will be 800,000 families tilling their own plots of ground. It is reported that at this time there are some 1,500,000 families entitled to agrarian lands. Land for the purpose is being reclaimed by new irrigation systems, or large farming estates which have been abandoned as well as other communal lands which are being subdivided. Another source is land preëmpted under the agrarian law, with special bond issues to cover. Mexico deserves credit for encouraging the use of her land. Her agrarian policy of providing small parcels to as many families as possible is similar to that of Spain. Norway has observed a policy that is to some extent similar in order to relieve the land-hungry. More significant for the future may be Mexico's policies for nationalization of resources and industries, which might make more easy a change from the present economic order if the avalanche of world-wide depression makes it necessary to seek new goals for the welfare of the people.

Social Research Notes

Edited by MARTIN H. NEUMEYER

A CONTRIBUTION TO COMMUNITY RESEARCH. Richard Louis Schanck, assistant professor of social and political psychology, Syracuse University, has made an individualistic study of human groupings of a small community in the state of New York. The report entitled, *A Study of a Community and Its Groups and Institutions Conceived of as Behaviors of Individuals*, is published by the American Psychological Association in "Psychological Monographs," Vol. XLIII, No. 2, 1932. It is primarily a study of both private and public attitudes. The data was obtained for the most part by "participation in the work of the people of the community and by entering into their activities." The investigator and his wife joined the churches, lodges, and political organizations of the community and became a part of the community life. They gathered information by means of interviews, observations, questionnaires, and documentary material. They attempted to observe and analyze whatever facts could be found at the individual level that seemed to correlate with the ideas that people had about the groupings of the community called "Elm Hollow." The community was found to be composed of two groups; those who "belonged in" Elm Hollow and the "outsiders." A comparison of the two groups is made in the report in terms of place of dwelling, occupational habits, trading activities, and attendance at group meetings, together with the psychological factors behind the origin of the present spatial relationships and other factors that associate with community ideology.

The sex and age composition, places of birth, vocations, national stocks, distribution of religious sympathies, political party affiliations, and incomes of 231 adult individuals of the community were studied as a background for the analysis of attitudes. Elm Hollow not only has *In* and *Out* groupings but some people in the community were found to possess two attitudes upon the same issue, namely a private attitude and a public or institutional attitude. In addition to giving his attitude each individual was asked to indicate how universal he believed his public attitude to be among the members of the par-

ticular grouping. Study I deals with the attitudes that associate with possession of the ideology of belonging to the Elm Hollow Methodist Church. Studies II and III deal in a like manner with the Baptist Church and the A. K. O. Lodge. In addition, general community attitudes toward the tariff, prohibition, township politics, consolidated school, and church union were obtained. The difference between private and public attitudes is shown in the tables. For instance, in the study of the Methodist group it was found that certain individuals held views in common with other members of the group but privately they held different views toward such things as ability of preachers sent to Elm Hollow, card playing, baptism, the Lord's Supper, the Discipline, church property, going to theaters, and the like. The private attitudes for the most part had to be obtained by indirect means. Table 18, "attitudes toward card playing," is based on the following scale of attitudes: 1. "I will not play card games of any kind. 2. I will not play games with face cards (but see no harm in playing with flinch cards). 3. I will not gamble (but see no harm in any kind of cards for amusement). 4. I will play any kind of cards (with or without gambling)." The distribution of attitudes shows that no one, either publicly or privately, took the first position. The mode of public attitudes falls on step 2, with 46 or 90.20 per cent of the total public attitudes favoring that position. The private attitude distribution, however, reveals that the mode falls on step 3, with 37 or 72.55 per cent of the total private attitudes taking that position. All tables show similar variations although usually not as extreme as is true of the public and private attitudes of the Methodists toward card playing.

FARM POPULATION MOVEMENTS. Statistics have been presented from time to time in this section to show trends in population movements. The tide of immigration to the United States has not only been stemmed but has been reversed since the outward movement is now greater than the inward movement. It seems that the urbanization process has also been reversed, at least for the time being.

The Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture has carefully studied the movements of people to and from farms for some time. A revised estimate of farm population in the November (1932) issue of *The Agricultural Situation* indicates clearly that "the long continued immigration away from the farms was reversed in 1930, since when there has

been a substantial net movement from town to farm. Data covering the first three months of 1932 indicates that by the end of this year the farm population of the United States will once more approach its peak figure of 32,000,000 which was reached in 1910." The city-ward movement of farm people has been more or less constant during the past two decades. The peak was reached in 1922, during which year 2,252,000 persons left farms for cities, whereas, 1,115,000 arrived at farms from cities, which means that the net movement from farms to cities was 1,137,000. A larger number of farm people moved city-ward in 1926 but since many returned the net city-ward movement was slightly less than in 1922. During 1931 only 1,469,000 persons left farms for cities, whereas 1,683,000 persons arrived at farms from cities, making for a net rural gain of 214,000. Births and deaths are not taken into account.

The non-farm rural population is growing also. "According to census enumerations, this group increased from 20,047,377 in 1920 to 23,662,710 in 1930 and comprised 19 and 19.3 per cent, respectively, of the total population in the United States. The depression has accelerated this movement by adding to it a group of unemployed or intermittently employed urbanites who are migrating to the country to engage in subsistence gardening and to utilize any other possible means of reducing cash outlays for living purposes."

TECHNOCRACY. In the broad sense the word Technocracy means "government by skill and science." In a more restricted sense it is a name applied to a group of American scientists, mostly engineers, who have been engaged in a comprehensive and searching analysis of the basic industrial and social changes that have been brought about by the wholesale introduction of labor-saving machinery. Recently these scientists have received considerable attention due to the sudden spontaneous appearance of articles dealing with Technocracy in such national magazines as *The New Outlook*, *Vanity Fair*, and *Fortune*, as well as the daily papers, such as *The Illustrated Daily News* of Los Angeles which claims the distinction of being the first daily paper to give complete recognition to the vital importance of Technocracy. A revised and reëdited version of the series of articles published by this paper appeared recently (December, 1932) in pamphlet form, published by The Los Angeles Press and entitled *Technocracy* (The What, Why, Who, When and How of Technocracy).

"The beginnings of the word Technocracy go back to 1918 when a group of engineers . . . began corresponding and meeting to discuss the inevitable social changes that were even then being brought about by the installation of high powered machinery," says Wayne W. Parrish in the December (1932) issue of *The New Outlook*. In the November issue of the same magazine, Parrish states:

The theory of Energy Determinents underlying Technocracy which takes account of this acceleration of energy production (intensification of the efficiency of the machine) was enunciated by Howard Scott, engineer and technician for the Muscle Shoals Project, who has been directing the research work of the body. There were in the original group of Technocracy, formed about 1920, such outstanding figures as the late Charles P. Steinmetz, the electrical wizard; Bassett Jones, electrical engineer; the late Thorstein Veblen, rebel economist; Frederick Lee Ackerman, architect; and Dr. Richard Tolman, of the California Institute of Technology.

During the past year and a half the research work has been carried on by a group of thirty-six engineers, who are supported for the most part by private funds. The work is centered in Professor Walter Rautenschauch's department of industrial engineering of Columbia University. The research is known as "The Energy Survey of North America."

While it is too early to adequately appraise their work, no one can deny the far-reaching significance of this movement. Labor-saving machinery has come upon us with such suddenness that we are hardly aware of its revolutionary influence. That the machine will produce a new type of social order is now obvious. In fact, it has already produced profound social changes. The fact-finding type of research carried on by these engineers will serve as a basis for more comprehensive studies and experimentation designed to control the direction of social change. According to the pamphlet on *Technocracy* previously referred to, there are four steps in the process: fact finding, plan building, experimenting and adjusting, and then Technocracy.

The claims as to the future of our civilization that have been attributed to the Technocrats may be regarded as somewhat fantastic. At any rate, they have not presented as yet the facts to substantiate their claims. Furthermore, they do not give sufficient recognition to the place of social engineering and the ability of societal self-direction.

Social Drama Notes

G. D. N.

DINNER AT EIGHT, a play in Eleven Scenes. By GEORGE S. KAUFMAN and EDNA FERBER. Doubleday Doran and Co., New York, 1932, pp. 259.

George S. Kaufman will get you if you don't watch out. He has a discerning eye that quickly penetrates the veneer of politeness and convention, and a sharp pen that delights in scratching this surface to reveal the selfish struggle within. Among his victims have been the theater in his *Royal Family*, Hollywood in *Once in a Lifetime*, national politics in *Of Thee I Sing*, and now with the aid of Edna Ferber is added the upper quartile of New York society in *Dinner at Eight*.

The theme with modification might be any dinner party. A cross section is taken of every one involved from the kitchen help to the guests of honor. On the surface all is harmony and remains so where the dinner party is concerned; fashion and convention decree it thus. But beneath the polite notes and telephone calls, beneath the genial conversation are exposed a galaxy of strains and stresses, pent up feelings, and conflicting emotions.

The doctor fights against falling in love with the wife of his friend the business giant while he clutches the secret that a patient, his host, has but a few days to live. The business giant has a threefold task. He must: (1) assist his President in assuaging the nation's economic grief; (2) secretly fleece his host out of a block of stock; and (3) learn the identity of the scoundrel who is seducing his wife. The host tolerates the business giant believing he sees in him the salvation for his own business while he conceals his illness from his family. The cook finds her toothache augmented by a love triangle among the servants which climaxes in the kitchen at serving time. The hostess overcomes her contempt for the fill-in guests while she hides her chagrin over the fact that the guests of honor left for Florida two hours before dinner. And so it goes: serenity on the outside, seething cauldrons within. No one is happy, but all pretend to be.

In addition to clear-cut character depiction and a thorough job of analysis the writers have incorporated a philosophical touch that renders the play well-balanced and stimulating to the imagination.

News Notes

G. D. N.

THE NEW YORK SOCIOLOGISTS announce that their third season is now well under way. This organization meets at an informal luncheon the second Saturday in each month at one o'clock. These gatherings take place at The Town Hall club, 123 East Forty-third Street, New York City. They extend to all visiting sociologists and those in the vicinity an invitation to be present at these meetings.

THE KOLNER VIERTELJAHRSHEFTE FÜR SOZIOLOGIE has been materially assisted by the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation. The value of this journal to sociology will no doubt be enhanced by this move. It might be well at this time to introduce this periodical to those who have not already made its acquaintance. This Cologne quarterly is the official organ of the German Sociological society, publishing in each issue articles of fundamental importance to the sociologists of all countries. American sociologists have been frequent contributors: some of these are Barnes, Eliot, Park, Howe, and Becker. Furthermore, for the past decade virtually every article printed in the majority of the American sociological reviews has appeared in this journal as an abstract. The *Kolner Vierteljahrshefte für Soziologie* is published under the guidance of Dr. Leopold von Wiese, Forschungsinstitut für Sozial Wissenschaften, Köln, Germany.